

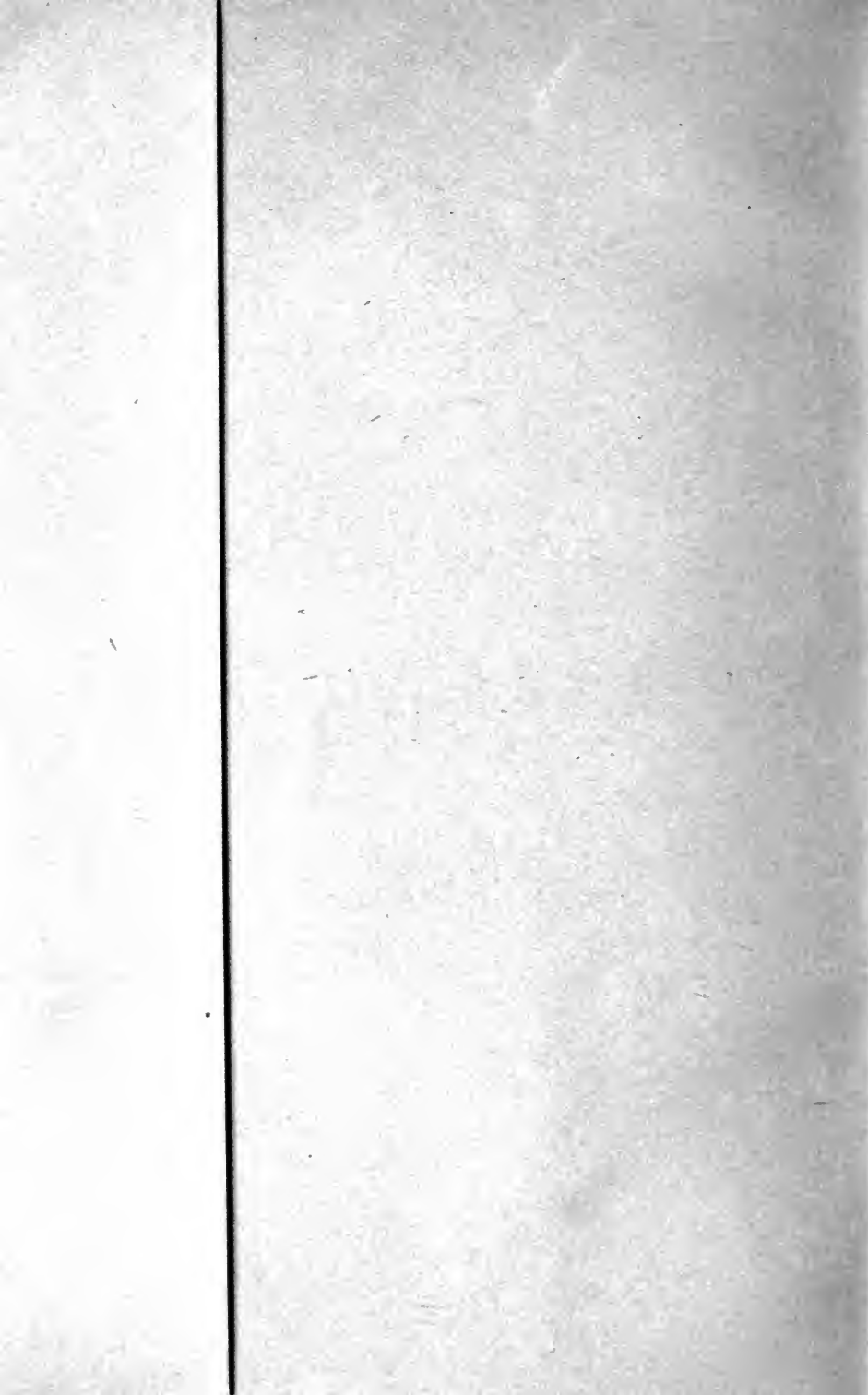


JOHN HENRY NEWMAN
CARDINAL-DEACON 1879

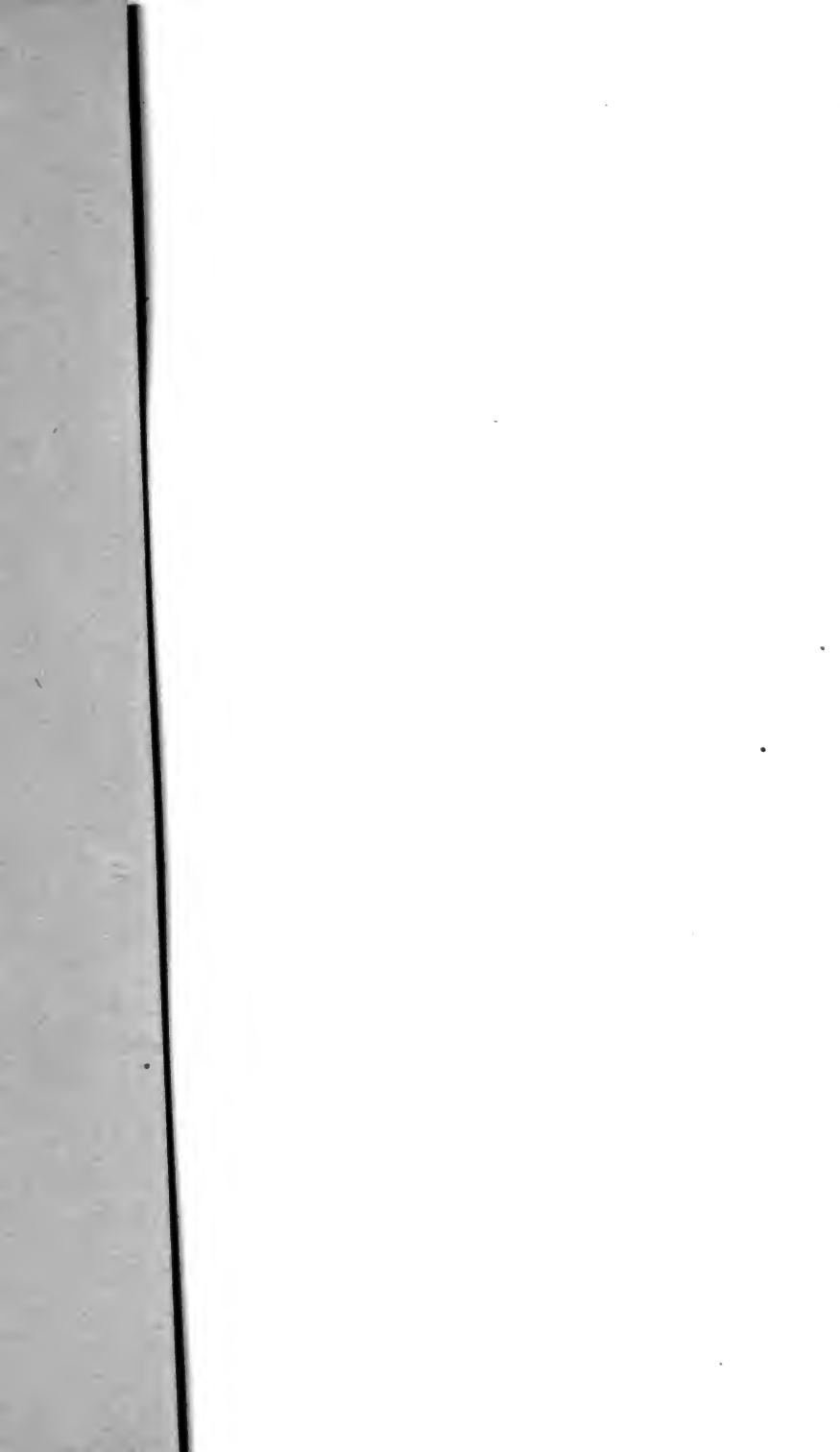
NEWMAN AND LITTLEMORE

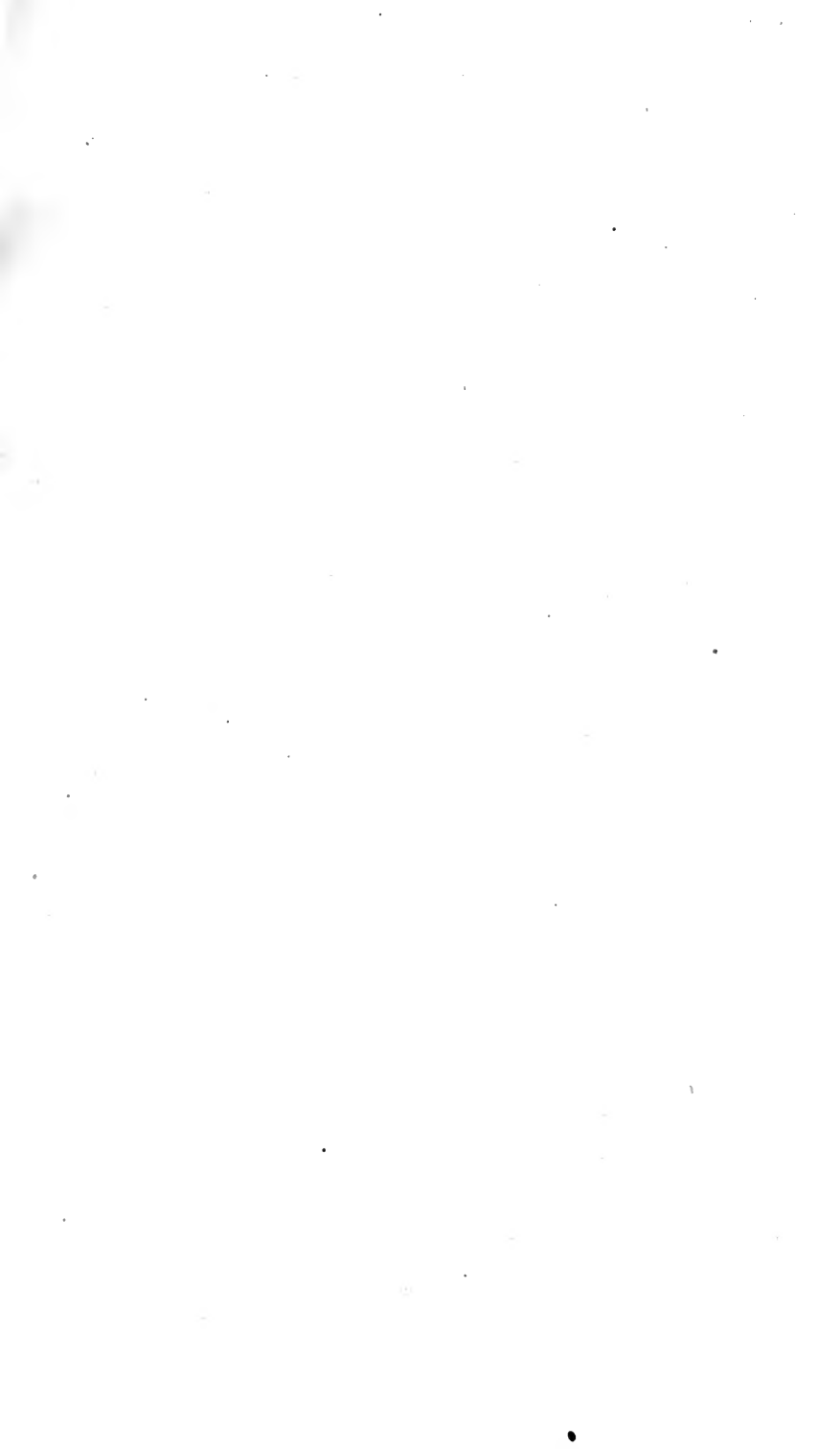
*A Centenary
Anthology
and Appeal*

Published by
THE SALESIAN FATHERS
LITTLEMORE, OXFORD
1945



NEWMAN AND LITTLEMORE







painting by Ossani

JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN

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WE wish to acknowledge with deep gratitude the kindness of the writers of these essays, who, in spite of difficulties, so promptly and willingly offered their services. In particular we thank Mr. John Rothenstein for his ready help and guidance in the production of this book.

THE SALESIAN FATHERS.

FOREWORD

THE spirit in which we celebrate the centenary of the conversion of John Henry Newman to the Catholic faith is one of admiration and thanksgiving; admiration of the great gifts which God bestowed on him, and thanksgiving for the example of his life and for the qualities of mind and heart which made him, as Alfred Austin said in the middle of the last century, 'the man in the working of whose individual mind the intelligent portion of the English public is more interested than in that of any other living person'.

Although the interest in his conversion may have flagged with the passing of the years, nevertheless, his fame as a man of letters has grown, and of this we may say in the words of his well-known sermon, 'still it abides'. The music of his prose has lost none of its charm, nor has the lucidity of his reasoning ever failed to call forth the admiration of thinking men.

If we say that we are grateful for the qualities which the divine bounty bestowed on Cardinal Newman, we are not thinking of the period of his Catholic life only, but also of his Anglican days and of the great influence for good which he exerted in his beloved Oxford. He was a powerful instrument in the hands of his Lord and his life has given joy to many.

For us Catholics, particularly after the lapse of a hundred years, his memory remains undimmed.

We cannot but rejoice greatly that the kindly light of which he sang, so streamed upon his way as to lead him into the one true fold of Jesus Christ. He was of the soul of the Catholic Church long before he made his humble submission and joined himself to its living body.

Yet whilst we admire him as writer, philosopher and apologist, we shall, above all, on the occasion of this centenary, think of him as a great priest of God and Prince of the Church, whose tender piety and sturdy devotion can never cease to shine for us 'amid the encircling gloom' of materialism and godlessness which, in the bitter years of war, has cast an ever deepening shadow over the face of the earth.

✠ WILLIAM GODFREY,
Apostolic Delegate.

INTRODUCTION

ON October 9th of the present year, 1945, the eyes of the whole Catholic world will turn towards Littlemore, the scene of the reception into the Church, just one hundred years ago, of the great Cardinal Newman, whose name is so intimately linked up with the famous Oxford Movement which began in 1833.

It is the privilege of the Salesian Fathers to have the spiritual care of the Catholics of the district of Littlemore, as this comes within the boundaries of their parish of Cowley, Oxford; and they feel it their duty and their privilege to mark this Centenary by erecting some worthy monument to this great convert of modern times.

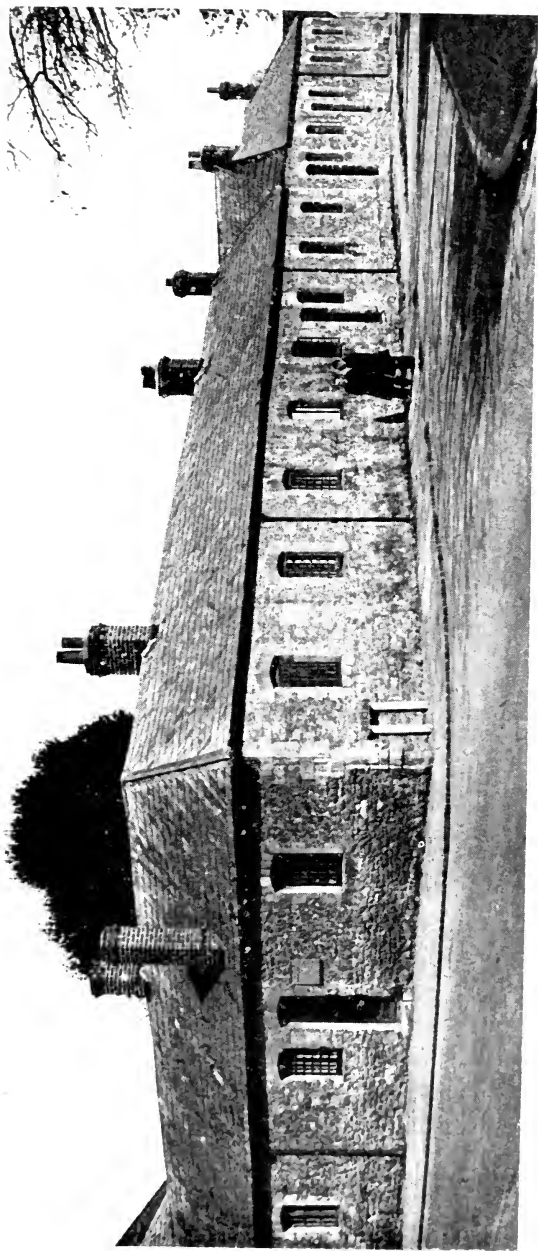
For a long time past it has been the desire of all lovers of Newman to see some lasting memorial to the great Cardinal on the very spot where, a century ago, the splendour of the 'Beata Pacis Visio' was revealed to him. And surely, no more fitting way of accomplishing this could be found than in the erection of a Church worthy of his prestige and world-wide influence.

The Centenary itself affords a most suitable occasion for bringing this project before the Catholic public, and this present volume is a humble attempt to fulfil that object. We feel that it will be received with enthusiasm and generous support.

Cardinal Newman has been a source of inspiration and spiritual strength to many, both at home and abroad; but converts, in a special way, many of whom have been helped and influenced by his shining example, will certainly welcome this opportunity of honouring him.

St. Philip Neri, a saint so dear to the heart of the Cardinal, played no small part in inspiring our Founder, St. John Bosco, with that spirit of joy, gentleness and Christian charity which were his special characteristics. May that great Saint bless this enterprise and further our efforts to honour his illustrious son on the centenary of his reception into the Catholic Church.

F. V. COUCHE, S.C.
(Provincial.)



THE LITTLEMORE COTTAGES

‘This unsightly building is divided by a number of walls, so as to form so many little cells; and it is so low that you might almost touch the roof with your hand. In the interior you will find the most beautiful specimen of patriarchal simplicity and gospel poverty. To pass from one cell to another, you must go through a little outside corridor, covered indeed with tiles, but open to all inclemencies of the weather. At the end of this corridor, you find a small dark room, which has served as an oratory. In the cells nothing is to be seen but poverty and simplicity – bare walls, floors composed of a few rough bricks, without carpet, a straw bed, one or two chairs, and a few books, this comprises the whole furniture!!! The refectory and kitchen are in the same style, all very small and very poor. From this description one may easily guess what sort of diet was used at table; no delicacies, no wine, no ale, no liquors, but seldom meat; all breathing an air of strictest poverty, such as I have never witnessed in any religious house in Italy or France, or in any other country where I have been. A Capuchin monastery would appear a great palace when compared with Littlemore.’ (*Description given by Fr. Dominic*)

LITTLEMORE

BY THE REV. FR. HENRY TRISTRAM (CONG. ORAT.)

LITTLEMORE', wrote Father Dominic in 1845 after his third visit, 'is a village about two or three miles from Oxford. It presents nothing charming in its aspect or situation, but is placed in a low flat country; it exhibits no delightful villas, nor agreeable woods and meadows, but one unvaried uniform appearance, rather dull than pleasant'. It had left a like sombre impression upon the memory of Matthew Arnold, who lectured, more than forty years after his undergraduate days were over, in Emerson's 'own delightful town' of Boston, Massachusetts, and by way of contrast recalled the 'dreary village by the London Road', where he had heard Newman preach. Its only recommendation seems to have been that, as T. Mozley says, 'from ancient times it had the reputation of being the best air and the healthiest spot near Oxford'.

For some reason or other, which remains obscure, Littlemore had always been regarded as 'an integral part' of the parish of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford; and hence the spiritual charge of the inhabitants of the hamlet devolved upon the Vicar. There is no evidence to show how lightly their obligations had sat upon the shoulders of his predecessors; but Newman, when he became Vicar in 1828, at once gave proof that he did not intend to ignore them. On June 18th in that year he 'began', as he recorded in his Diary, 'making a census of Littlemore', and found that he had about 300 souls under his jurisdiction. There was no church in the village, so that when he started his 'catechetical lectures', he was compelled to give them 'at Birmingham's house'. Year after year he walked out from Oxford several times a week, until in the end 'he had become intimate with every household, every living and growing thing, and every stone in the place'. Since his parish in Oxford offered him little scope, his parishioners being few and unapproachable, he sought at Littlemore an outlet for his pastoral zeal.

The work grew apace under his hands, and in 1829 he began to look about for a curate, and to ventilate the idea of building a church. In the autumn of 1830 he established his mother and two sisters in Iffley, and there they remained for nearly six years, until the family was broken up by the death of his mother and the

marriages of his sisters in 1836. They zealously assisted him in his parochial labours, and even won the guarded approval of the village schoolmistress, who somewhat ambiguously on one occasion told her pupils that 'if everybody was as good as the Miss Newmans, there would not be so much robbing of orchards and stealing of coppers'. According to Thomas Mozley, who married the elder of the two sisters, 'they attended to the schools, the charities, and the sick people of Littlemore, which though without a church, and at that time with scarcely a genteel residence, had more care bestowed on it than many a village furnished with all the symbols of parochial completeness'. When the cholera epidemic of 1832 was threatening, Mrs. Newman with remarkable foresight proposed to equip a cottage as headquarters for nurses so that they might be segregated from uncontaminated families, and to install herself there as head nurse.

Feeling that a hired room with a service on Sunday evening and a lecture during the week was miserably inadequate for the spiritual wants of the village, Newman continued to press the need of a church upon the attention of the Oriel Fellows; but the Provost, Dr. Hawkins, 'steadily threw cold water' upon the proposal on the ground that this would eventually involve the separation of Littlemore from St. Mary's. In the meantime he was doing what he could in the way of raising a fund for the purpose; and the people entered with enthusiasm into the scheme. At last in 1835 they addressed a petition to 'the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College Oxford Patrons and Rectors of St. Marys Littlemore', which was signed by all the householders, except one who was absent, as well as by many others. On April 24th Newman made this entry in his Diary: 'Littlemore Chapel voted, a site and burying-ground up to half an acre, and £100'. Three months later, on July 25th, Mrs. Newman laid the foundation-stone; and Newman delivered what she called 'a nice address', short and simple and not above the understanding of his hearers. Keble who was among them recalled the occasion to his memory during the anxieties of 1845. 'If I might choose a pleasant day to think of,' he wrote for Newman's birthday, 'perhaps the day of the first stone at Littlemore might be it. Many places and times, it seems to me, may well have taken a sort of colouring from that day, and surely it brings with it sweet and hopeful thoughts, and many of them, and the past and the future, and the living and the departed, and times of

faith and times of decay, seem blended, as one thinks of it, in a way which must . . . issue in comfort at last.'

Newman, being neither a ritualist nor an ecclesiologist, had no definite opinions about the architectural style in which the church was to be built, except the commonsense view that a village church should serve the purpose for which it was intended, and aimed at nothing more than 'capacity and moderate cost'. He consulted Thomas Mozley, an amateur architect, on the subject, and adopted his suggestion of a simple Early English nave, without chancel, vestry, tower, or porch. 'The east end,' Newman wrote to Bloxam, when it was finished, 'is quite beautiful,' It seems that the lancet windows were filled with plain glass, except for the middle lancet of the east window, in which the builder or glazier, because he wanted a touch of colour, insisted upon inserting 'a single suggestive quarry of red glass', which was 'gravely described in the *Record* as a drop of our Saviour's blood'. Beneath this window stood a massive stone altar, which had above it an arcading of seven arches, to Newman a cause of some anxiety, because instead of being 'in alto-relief or pilaster-wise', as he anticipated, the arches were whole, and stood out from the wall; and this, he thought, made them 'too much of a thing'. To redress the balance he determined to have the cross cut or sunk in the stone, so that it should not be too prominent. But even so, an evangelical clergyman felt 'an indescribable horror', when he saw it. The door was at the west end and had a belfry above it. The original wooden pulpit stood in the south-east corner, and there was an early thirteenth-century font.

The consecration was fixed for Thursday, September 22nd, 1836, and for Newman nothing clouded the happiness of the day, except the thought of his mother, who had died since the building was begun. Dr. Bagot, the Bishop of Oxford, officiated, Isaac Williams read the prayers, and Newman preached on the text: 'For I tell you that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them' (St. Luke, x. 24). The Bishop was so pleased with the sermon that he borrowed the manuscript, and when he returned it, told the preacher that he had read it 'with sincere delight'. Nor was he the only person to borrow it; for Newman some months afterwards in a letter to his Oriel friend, F. Rogers, remarked that he had had 'more requests to lend (the)

Littlemore Consecration Sermon than any *ever*'. 'There were a number of details,' Newman wrote to another friend, J. W. Bowden, 'which made it a most delightful day, and long, I hope, to be remembered here'.

The anniversary of the consecration — the Littlemore Commemoration, as Newman calls it — was ever afterwards kept in the village as the outstanding event of the year; and he did everything he could to make the occasion as festive as possible. There was always a great influx of visitors from outside. A lady who was present for the first time has recorded her impression of the scene in 1840. 'The little church at Littlemore (then as first built by him),' she writes, 'was overflowing to the very brim — many of the neighbouring clergy, many from Oxford, notably Dr. Pusey, many gownsmen, a considerable sprinkling of ladies, noted strangers from London. But there was one figure . . . that detached itself from all the others, and remained thenceforth for always stamped upon my mind'. That figure was, of course, Newman, who preached then, as he always did. One such anniversary has become historic, and that was the last, which was kept on Monday, September 25th, 1843. What distinguished it from previous celebrations, was that Newman had just resigned the living of St. Mary's, and this, of course, involved the loss of his spiritual charge of Littlemore. There was a greater outward show of festivity than in any previous year; in honour of the occasion the church was adorned with flowers arranged on the altar, on the window-ledges, on Mrs. Newman's memorial tablet, and on the seats on both sides of the aisle, dahlias, fuchsias and passion-flowers; and when the service was due to begin at 11, the clergy — Pusey, who was the celebrant, Newman, Copeland and Bowles — walked in procession from the school, accompanied by the children, chanting a psalm. Newman preached his 'last sermon', the *Parting of Friends*, which was his farewell to the Church of England. But at this point it is appropriate that an eye-witness should take up the narrative. 'It would be no easy thing', wrote Edward Bellasis to his wife, 'to convey to you any adequate impression of the whole scene, the crowd of friends from all parts, the half-mournful greetings, the extreme silence of the chapel, though crowded till chairs were obliged to be set in the churchyard, the children with their new frocks and bonnets (Newman's parting gift). I did not see Newman himself speak to

anyone before service, the offertory was stated to be intended to be applied to completing the re-seating of the chapel, and the communicants were one hundred and forty in number. But the sermon I can never forget, the faltering voice, the long pauses, the perceptible and hardly successful efforts at restraining himself, together with the deep interest of the subject, were almost overpowering; Newman's voice was low, but distinct and clear, and his subject was a half-veiled complaint and remonstrance at the treatment which drove him away . . . After the sermon, Newman received the Communion, but took no further part in officiating. Dr. Pusey consecrated the elements in tears, and once or twice became entirely overcome and stopped altogether. However, nothing I can say to you can give you the remotest idea of the sorrowfulness or solemnity of the scene'. Never after this, although he took no further step for two years, was Newman's voice heard in a pulpit of the Church of England.

But to return to earlier years — Newman had, as we have seen, desired to make Littlemore independent of St. Mary's; but finding an insuperable obstacle thrown in the way of his project, he tended more and more, especially as the tension in Oxford increased, to withdraw from St. Mary's and to devote himself to Littlemore. He took the first step in 1840, when he went out there 'to see how things are going on', and remained for the whole of Lent, lodging in the house of Mrs. Barnes, the wife of a local blacksmith. 'As a first step' towards the resignation of St. Mary's, he 'meditated a retirement to Littlemore'. 'For myself', he wrote on March 15th, 1840, to his former curate, J. R. Bloxam, 'I am so drawn to this place . . . that it will be an effort to go back to St. Mary's. . . . Everything is so cold at St. Mary's. I have felt it for years. I know no one. I have no sympathy. I have many critics and carpers. If it were not for those poor undergraduates, who are after all *not* my charge, and the Sunday Communions, I should be tempted sorely to pitch my tent here'. A day or two later he took Pusey more fully into his confidence on a subject already discussed by them — that of 'building a monastic house', and of taking up his residence in it himself. The plans that he was even then formulating in his mind, were certainly far-reaching and ambitious.

While this correspondence was going on, he decided upon a suitable site, lying between the church and Mrs. Barnes's cottage

in which he was lodging, and with Bloxam as intermediary he entered into negotiations with the owner. At last, on May 20th, he and Charles Marriott between them bought a field of nine acres. It was his idea '*to build a bit*', but to build it on a plan', which would admit of additions in the future, the principal room being the library, with 'cells' consisting of three tiny rooms each grouped around it. He even went so far as to draw on a vacant page in his Diary a rough plan to illustrate his modest requirements. During the autumn, with the help of 'Mr. Barrett the woodman' and 'Mr. Day the planter', he planted two of the nine acres with trees, 'larch and fir, with more tender trees (yet suited to the soil) between, such as hornbeam, elm, etc.' if the experts approved of his choice.

But before he proceeded any further with this scheme, an opportunity unexpectedly came to him, which put him in a position to translate into fact his dream of establishing a 'hovel' at Littlemore. Instead of waiting until he could erect a new building, he acquiesced in a temporary expedient, just because it could be realized at once. There was a range of farm-buildings, part granary, part stables, at a distance of a few hundred yards from the church, running along the lane, which led from the village-road to 'Humphries's forge'. The owners converted the granary, which stood at the junction of road and lane, into cottages; and these Newman took on lease. Then, since he wanted room for his books, he persuaded them to turn the adjacent stables into rooms, which would eventually provide accommodation for pupils or friends. This 'disused range of stabling', as T. Mozley calls it, 'than which nothing could be more unpromising, not to say depressing', passed into Newman's possession in July 1841. At the time Newman was 'sleeping for the most part at Miss Giles's', and thus was able to watch the reconstruction. The building, which was only one storey in height, occupied two sides of a quadrangle, one side being shorter than the other; and at the back there was an open space, bounded by a low wall, and planted with shrubs. Along the inner wall he had a green veranda built, which he called a 'shed', and the more ecclesiastically-minded a 'cloister', into which the doors of the apartments opened; while the windows looked out upon the lane. Inside there were six sets of small rooms, some of which were afterwards divided, for the permanent residents, a chapel,



a refectory, a library, a guest-room, and a kitchen; and the floors were of brick. The chapel, or 'oratory', as it was called, the first room away from the road along the lane, Newman's own rooms being next to it, was 12 or 13 feet square, with the window boarded up, and the walls covered with red cloth. At one end a Spanish crucifix stood between a pair of candlesticks on a small table; and up the middle ran a board used for the recitation of the Divine Office, the light for which was provided by a high branch-candlestick. It is not surprising that Father Dominic thought Passionist Retreats, austere though they were, to be 'palaces compared to this'. 'This unsightly building,' he wrote in the *Tablet*, 'is divided by a number of walls, so as to form so many little cells; and it is so low that you might almost touch the roof with your hand. In the interior you will find the most beautiful specimen of patriarchal simplicity and gospel poverty. To pass from one cell to another, you must go through a little outside corridor, covered indeed with tiles, but open to all inclemencies of the weather. At the end of this corridor, you find a small dark room, which has served as an oratory. In the cells nothing to be seen but poverty and simplicity — bare walls, floors composed of a few rough bricks, without carpet, a straw bed, one or two chairs, and a few books, this comprises the whole furniture!!! The refectory and kitchen are in the same style, all very small and very poor. From this description one may easily guess what sort of diet was used at table; no delicacies, no wine, no ale, no liquors, but seldom meat; all breathing an air of the strictest poverty, such as I have never witnessed in any religious house . . . where I have been'.

On April 20th, 1842, Newman took up his residence in what was to be known as the 'Parsonage', and two days later was joined by his first companion, John Dobrée Dalgairns. They began at once a kind of community life, even to the extent of reciting the Divine Office from the Roman Breviary every day. The six sets of rooms were soon filled, but as Newman complained after the experience of a few months, 'men come and go'. He had many followers, but there were very few among them to whom a life of devotion and study made any appeal. The following is a complete list of the 'residents' in addition to Dalgairns: Thomas Meyrick, who left the day after his arrival owing to illness; William Lockhart, who after a year went off and was received into the Church; Charles Brooke Bridges, who stayed for two years;

Frederick Bowles; Ambrose St. John; and towards the end Richard Stanton, Albany Christie, and John Walker. All of them became Catholics and, with the exception of Bridges, priests.

It was not in Newman's intention to teach his companions austerities; but it was his wish that their life should be plain and frugal, in order to root out of their minds the 'gentleman-parson' idea. Nevertheless, judged by any standard, their mode of living was hard enough, or 'very shady', to use Dalgairns's slang. As time went on, and Newman gained in experience, various modifications were introduced; but they were on the whole trivial. Stanton, who went to reside there on June 20th, 1845, has left a first-hand account of the observances maintained there, and this, although based entirely on his own experience, would have equally well, except for a few details, applied to any period during the three years. 'The plan of life they followed was simple in the extreme. . . . There was no written rule, but everything went on in the same course day after day. Mr. Newman, who would allow no affectation of monastic titles, was still commonly called the vicar. There were no servants in the house. A woman from the village came to do the cooking, and a boy was employed in odd jobs throughout the day. Perfect silence was observed in the house, except during the recreation in the library after dinner. The whole of the Breviary Office was said in the Oratory. . . . Matins were said at an early hour in the morning; and I have been told that, during the Advent of 1842, they had made the experiment of rising at midnight for this purpose. . . . Mr. Newman, however, considered that it would be imprudent to continue the practice, and it was abandoned. Besides this, we went twice a day to the Anglican service in the village church. The morning was devoted to study in the library. . . . Mr. Newman was known to be engaged on his work, which afterwards appeared as the *Essay on Development*, and usually devoted about fourteen hours a day to the task. . . . We took our breakfast standing in the dining-room, and some luncheon also in the middle of the day. In the afternoon it was usual to take a walk, and sometimes Mr. Newman accompanied us, and kept up a most delightful conversation. . . . Dinner was at five o'clock with reading, the book at this time being some work of Blosius. Then followed recreation . . . in the library, and tea, a most refreshing break in the long silence of the day'.

A time-table jotted down in 1842 by Newman on a piece of note-paper will show in skeleton-form what was then regarded as a practicable ideal, although other similar surviving documents do not correspond with it in every detail:

5 — 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Matins and Lauds.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ — 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Recreation.
6 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 7	Breakfast.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 6	Study, etc., with
7 — 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Prime.		None.
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 10	Study, etc., with	6 — 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Supper.
	Tierce.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Recreation.
10 — 11	Morning Prayers —	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Study, etc.
	Chapel.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 10	Vespers.
11 — 2	Study, etc., with Sext.	10 — 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	Compline.
2 — 3	Recreation.	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ — 5	Sleep, etc.
3 — 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	Evening Prayers —		
	Chapel.		

No talking except between 2 and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The reception of Newman and his companions into the Church raised the anxious question whether they ought to remain at Littlemore or go away. Opinions among his former associates were divided, but on the whole they were in favour of the latter course. His sister, Jemima, urged this point of view in a letter which he received from her on the evening of October 8th, while he was waiting for the arrival of Father Dominic, and it is characteristic of him that he calmly answered it early next morning in the interval after he had begun, and before he had finished, his General Confession. To him it seemed that the answer one way or the other could only be based on the ground of discretion. Father Dominic was convinced that it was better for them to remain, or if this proved to be impracticable, to retain the property for future purposes. In course of time, however, he came to see that the only course open to them, if they were to be ordained, was to make a new beginning somewhere else; and when Dr. Wiseman offered him Maryvale, Newman accepted the offer. But Maryvale was to be 'Littlemore continued'. On the afternoon of Sunday, February 22nd, 1845, he left Littlemore, having spent the night there by himself, to say good-bye to his friends in Oxford before starting for Maryvale early the next morning. 'It was of course', he wrote to W. J. Copeland, 'a very trying thing for me to quit

Littlemore — I quite tore myself away, and could not help kissing my bed, and mantelpiece, and other parts of the house. I have been most happy there, though in a state of suspense. And there it has been that I have both been taught my way and received an answer to my prayers. Without having any plan or shadow of a view on the subject, I cannot help thinking I shall one day see Littlemore again, and see its dear inhabitants, including yourself, once again one with us in the bosom of the true fold of Christ'. Charles Marriott took over the 'cottages', partly to save Newman from embarrassment, but partly also to prevent the establishment of a 'Roman colony' there. In June 1846 they were sold by auction, being advertised thus: 'A range of buildings consisting of 18 separate Rooms or Apartments of good size and some rather spacious, which for several years past have been occupied by the Rev. J. H. Newman, and a garden adjoining, inclosed with a view to privacy, and an inclosed passage between the Apartments and the Garden running the whole length of the Property, and other conveniences. This lot is now on lease to the Rev. J. H. Newman'. On the paper there is written in pencil '£650 0 0', and this is probably the amount realized for the lease.

Newman 'always hoped to see the place once more', before he died; and his hope was twice fulfilled. On June 16th, 1868, he and St. John started from Birmingham by the 7 a.m. train to Abingdon, took a fly to Sandford, and walked the rest of the way. In the village they spent five hours, and then returned by the same route, thus avoiding Oxford. 'I had,' he wrote to H. Wilberforce afterwards, 'begun planting at Littlemore, and Crawley has done as much again, and much more tastefully. Littlemore is now green. Crawley's cottage and garden (upon my ten acres which I sold him) are beautiful. The Church is now what they call a *gem*. And the parsonage is very pretty. I saw various of my people, now getting on in life. . . . Alas, their memory of me was in some cases stronger than my memory of them. They have a great affection for my Mother and Sisters. . . . I do not expect ever to see it again, nor do I wish it'. To Copeland he gave further details: 'It was a most strange vision, I could hardly believe it real. It was the past coming back, as it might in the intermediate state. I was rejoiced to see Littlemore so green, though very few of my street trees remain. . . . Crawley's is a really pretty place; the Church is greatly improved; and the Vicarage is very nice. . . . We could not

LITTLEMORE

walk about much, the day was too hot'. But why has he simply passed over the most interesting episode? A passer-by, according to his own account, caught sight of an elderly man poorly attired in an old grey coat with the collar turned up and a hat pulled down over his face, leaning upon the lych gate and weeping. He guessed the identity of the stranger from a photograph in Crawley's possession, and went to tell him that Newman was in the village. On his return he found Newman walking in the churchyard with St. John, and said that, if he were an old friend, it would be a great pleasure to Crawley, an invalid, to receive a visit. Newman, bursting into tears, exclaimed, 'Oh no, oh no'; and when St. John tried to induce him, he returned the answer, 'I cannot'. At last St. John sent a message to Crawley to say that Newman was in the village; and the messenger brought back a pressing invitation for them to come. At this point Anne Mozley, who paid a visit to Littlemore in 1875, and gleaned certain facts from Martha King, whom Newman had examined for confirmation long before, enables us to complete the story. Writing to Jemima on May 8th in that year, she said: 'When your brother was at Littlemore in 1868, about which I will tell you more when we meet, she was sent for in a great hurry to go down to the Crawleys to see him, and described his sitting with them in the garden, and how when he shook hands with her she felt as if she could not let his hand go. He sent her his photograph after this, which is immensely valued, and brought down for me to see.'

In February 1878, when Newman 'revisited Oxford . . . after an absence of just 32 years', he 'had no time to go to Littlemore'; but later in that year he made an opportunity for himself to repair the omission. This visit had been recorded briefly in the Diary of a member of the Community: 'October 1, The Father went to Oxford a few weeks ago, and drove to his Mother's house at Iffley, where he sat and talked a little while to the people who occupy it, and then walked to Littlemore. He returned in the evening.' That is all; but one day a letter may be found containing an account of this visit in his own hand.

The piety of a later age has sought to perpetuate in visible form the memory of Newman's connection with Littlemore. In the pulpit of the church there is a crucifix, the shaft of which bears the following inscription:

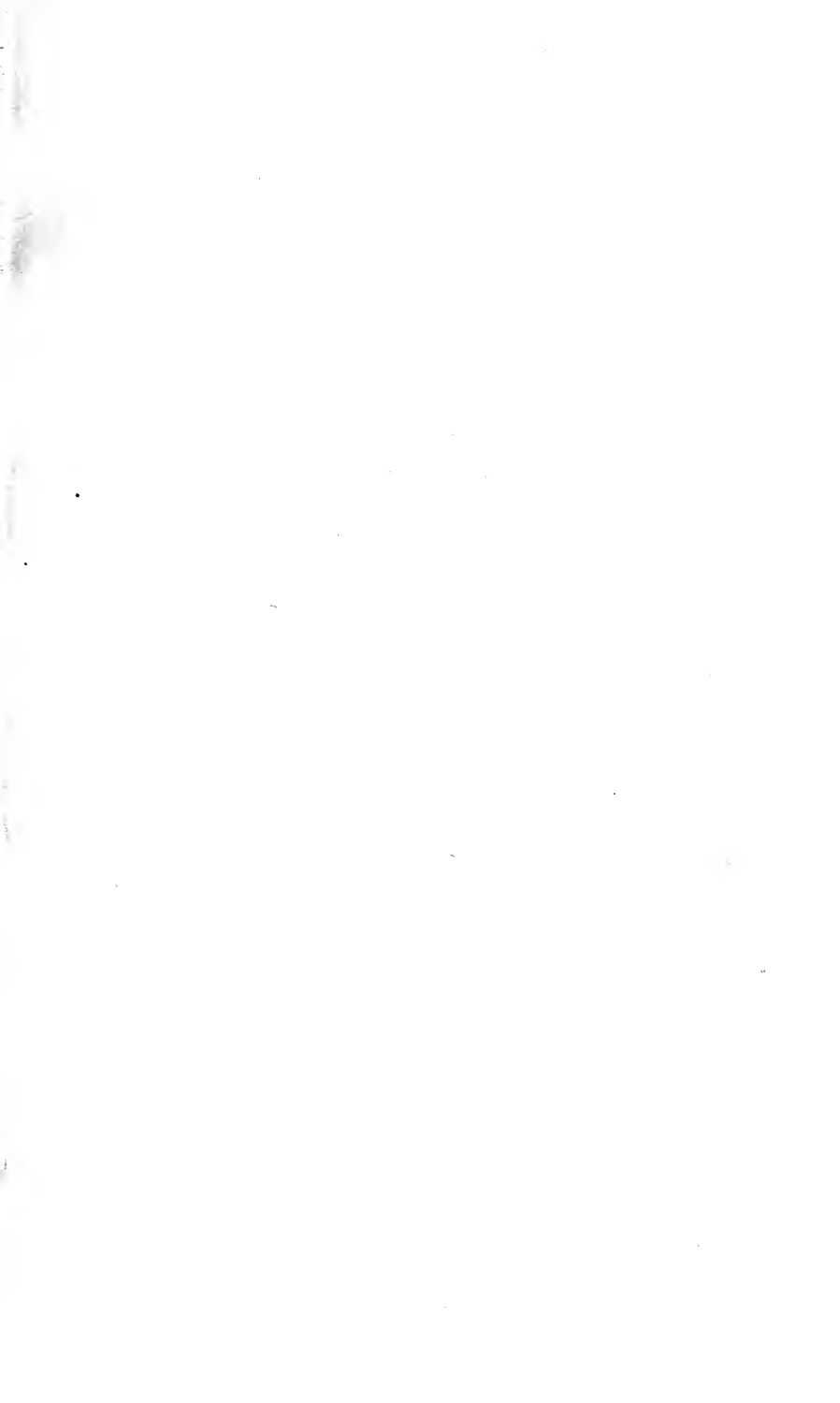
NEWMAN AND LITTLEMORE

In
beatam memoriam
J. H. N.
hujus
sacelli
fundatoris
deo
dedit
advena
anno MCM

The screen too has been erected in his memory, as the inscription shows: 'In piam memoriam Johannis Henrici Newman hujus sacelli conditoris et parochi anno salutis MCMXIII'. Finally at a later date the Oxford Preservation Trust had the happy thought of fixing on the outer wall of the cottages a tablet with an inscription written by Sir Michael Sadler after consultation with the Fellows of Oriel and others:

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN
Fellow of Oriel College
Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin
afterwards Cardinal
used this building
in the years 1842-1846
as a place of retirement
study and prayer

Perhaps it is not extravagant to hope that at a time not far distant a worthy memorial may be raised at Littlemore to remind future generations of one, who was 'most happy there, though in a state of suspense', and there in the end entered into the 'Blessed Vision of Peace'.





ORIEL STREET, OXFORD, LOOKING NORTH. The Spire of St. Mary's is in the distance, and the buildings of Oriel and St. Mary Hall on the right

'In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, "There's Newman"', as with head thrust forward and gaze fixed as though at some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step he glided by.'

(Principal Shairp.)

RECESSIONAL FOR THE TRACTARIANS

BY THE RT. REV. MGR. RONALD KNOX

TO celebrate the centenary of a movement is, in some sense, a contradiction in terms. A movement cannot be exactly dated, like the laying of a foundation stone or the publication of a book. For a movement implies, first, that there is a spirit abroad which grows in intensity; that leaders arise and succeed one another; that books are published and controversies rage; that, in time, different channels form themselves, into which the influence of the movement pours itself, with very varying results; finally, that the movement itself, unless some catastrophe of history buries it altogether, fades more and more into the light of common day, becomes merged more and more in the ordinary life and thought of the community which gave it birth, so that you can no longer delimit its sphere, or seize, by a hasty definition, upon its characteristics. You cannot date Humanism, or the counter-Reformation, or the growth of Socialism. It is necessary to substitute a moment for the movement itself.

For us, Tractarianism loses most of its interest after 1845, or at any rate after the Gorham judgment; for the Anglo-Catholics, those dates only mark the period at which it was beginning to gain strength. Meanwhile, the Evangelical or Broad Church critic sees the defeat of the Movement where we see its culmination, in the secession of the Oxford converts. The unbiased observer pays more attention to its influence on the general life of the nation, and of the Established Church within the nation; the impetus it gave to what we may call the formation of an Anglican self-consciousness. The present essay is an attempt to sum up, in very little space, the total effect of the Movement in all the various directions indicated.

But first let it be observed that the Movement, in regard to the specific object which it set before itself, failed. Its inspiring motive when it began was the determination to combat liberalism, whether in politics or in thought; two forms of liberalism which the mind of that day found it difficult to distinguish. It overestimated the danger of liberalism in politics; it underestimated the strength of liberalism in thought. Political liberalism was destined to run its course, infringing the privileges of the Anglican Church, but not

interfering with its liberties. Speculative liberalism was to run its course, menacing the structure of Christian belief not from without but from within the body of the Establishment.

What, after all, was the National Apostasy which Keble saw and protested against? The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in '28; Catholic Emancipation in 1829 — Keble and Newman had thrown all their weight into the struggle against Peel's re-election — the passing of the Reform Bill in '32, and the proposal for suppression of ten Irish bishoprics in '33. Any of these measures, taken by itself, might be defended by a man of moderate political opinions as an act of elementary justice; and Pusey did in fact urge the re-election of Peel. But taken together they looked, to the Oxford of that day, like the first warnings of a wave of Jacobinism, which would sweep away the prerogatives of the English Church as part of a system of privilege. And the first two of these acts of legislation had been carried by a Tory Government; the cause of the Church was being deserted by its immemorial champions. These people, after all, had lived, many of them, through the French Revolution; what assurance had they that in the mounting tide of English Liberalism the Establishment would not suffer as the Church in France had suffered?

And the Bishops were doing nothing — that was the first notion of the Oxford Movement, to strengthen the hands of the Bishops. It was not a section of the Church, but a mass movement of its more ardent supporters, that was prepared to second the agitation at first. After the meeting at Hadleigh, a petition was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church. (This was that Dr. Howley, who, when his chaplain complained of a dead cat being thrown into the archiepiscopal coach by a Reform Bill mob, replied: 'You should be thankful that it was not a live one.') The petition was signed by 7,000 of the clergy, which must have been at least a third of the total body; and by 230,000 heads of families, that is, practically one family in every ten. So far from being destined to split the Church of England, the Oxford Movement at its birth seemed designed to unite it. So far from adopting an attitude of defiance towards the Bishops, it was an attempt to make the Bishops realize their own dignity. And, so far from being a persecuted movement, you may almost say that it was a persecuting movement. It began with the outcry against Peel; it was to proceed later to the outcry

against Hampden and against Gorham. The Church of England was to find itself.

Meanwhile, Newman's theological mind warned him that the danger was not merely a political one, and could not be met by a merely political agitation. The whole basis of Anglicanism must be rooted deeper, by recourse to the doctrine of the Fathers and of the Anglican Divines. Hence came the Tracts for the Times, whose immediate object was to rally the whole of Anglicanism to a higher sense of its mission. And here the Movement overshot itself; Pusey's Tract on Baptismal Regeneration had alienated the Evangelicals and alarmed the old-fashioned High Churchmen before ever Tract 90 was penned. But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Tracts was not to alienate or to shock, but to restate the ancient doctrine of the Church of England, and thus assert the dogmatic principle, as Newman loved to call it, against the inroads of latitudinarianism. If I may put the distinction crudely, let me say that secularism was the spectre which Keble foresaw in the first instance, and rationalism, growing out of secularism, was the spectre which Newman foresaw almost immediately afterwards.

Both secularism and rationalism are nevertheless with us. In saying that secularism has triumphed in spite of the Oxford Movement, I do not forget that the Church of England has achieved, in these last three hundred years, a very considerable measure of spiritual independence. In 1852, for example, *post* and to a certain extent *propter* the revival of the Catholic hierarchy, the long dormant Convocations of Canterbury and York once more became active. Even now, the independence is not complete; for we have seen in our day the House of Commons twice rejecting, by heavy majorities, a revised Prayer Book which had practically the whole force of the episcopacy at its back. But there is no interference; and it seems doubtful whether an English Hitler would attempt to Hitlerize the Church of England, so far have we grown away from our old Erastian sentiments. But in the meanwhile the stranglehold of the clergy on English public life has vanished, so dear to the Tractarian heart. When you think of the clerical common-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge, and of the common-rooms at Oxford and Cambridge now. . . .

Rationalism was only beginning to make its way among the German scholars when the Oxford Movement happened, and *The*

Origin of Species was not to be published for many years. Newman, therefore, showed more prescience in diagnosing the danger; but it is doubtful if his remedy would in any case have proved an effective one. Within the course of a half-century after the Assize Sermon, not only had thought swung round towards rationalism in England at large, but the rationalizing tendency had fortified itself within the Church; the Oxford of Newman had given place to the Oxford of Jowett. Pusey and what remained of the old guard fought against it, as they fought against University reform; but by now they were a section, enfeebled by its losses, and probably the greatest protagonist of orthodoxy in Mid-Victorian Oxford was Dean Burgon, a High Churchman of the old school who would have nothing to do with Tractarianism. The Oxford Movement had failed to capture the thought of the English Church for traditionalism, as it failed to capture England for Anglicanism.

Would things have gone otherwise, if Newman had not received the grace of conversion; if Ward, too, and Manning had persevered in the traditions of their upbringing? We must not forget, when we find Anglicans bitter about conversions, that every conversion is, in proportion to its notoriety, a setback and an embarrassment to their own propaganda. 'We told you so . . . Why can't you be honest, like Newman? . . . This is what comes of trusting Romanizers' — such criticisms are galling, and exacerbate the feeling of regret for a Lost Leader which every notable conversion from Anglicanism brings with it. Whatever the Oxford Converts brought to us, there is no doubt that they made things much harder for those who remained behind, and in a large measure stultified their influence. But could Newman, even with the hearing which an Anglican pulpit gave him, have thwarted the rise of Jowett? Could Manning, if he had gone to Canterbury instead of Westminster, have staved off Irish Disestablishment? I find either supposition difficult to imagine; but I would rather have the opinion of someone who knew them, even in old age; *ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura*.

Providence, at any rate, had other designs; and Newman, after twelve years of loyal struggle and uneasy partnership, threw himself at the feet of Father Dominic. To ask why, would be impertinent; divine grace does not abide our question. To ask whether the step was the logical outcome of his own ideas would be super-

fluous; there can be only one logical issue when a man sits down seriously to consider who sent him, and by what right, to act as a minister of Christ. But, in most conversions, and perhaps in Newman's especially, you can trace the effect of personal influences; thought by itself (the Philosopher reminds us) produces no movement. It is doubtful whether a man so exact in his loyalties, so retentive of his traditions as Newman could have found the courage (humanly speaking) to throw in his lot with the despised Catholic minority, if the influence of friends had not helped him. And here, I think, the first credit belongs to one who never lived to become a Catholic; I mean Hurrell Froude. To me he is the most attractive figure, personally, in the whole Tractarian group; a man full of earnestness and devotion, yet with a sense of humour, not far removed from flippancy, well in advance of his time; a reckless counsellor, never shrinking from the logic of his own conclusions; eager, restless, optimistic, perhaps with the eagerness, the restlessness, the optimism of the consumptive; a born conspirator, possessed, clearly, of a magnetic personal charm, something of a saint. It was he who forced Newman away from his old alliances, not by dominating his thought, but by showing him where his own thought led. If he had lived, I feel certain he would have become a Catholic; quite probably he would have brought Newman with him, perhaps as early as 1841. He died in 1837, mourned by good men.

In the years that followed, Newman seems to have owed more and more to the influence of his juniors. His scrupulous sense of responsibility towards his own followers at first retarded and embarrassed, but in the end probably cut short his own hesitations. Not that he had the itch for leading a party, so that he had to lead his party to Rome for fear it should go without him. Rather, he came to see the hopelessness of his own position through the impossibility of approving it to minds less timorous than his own.

To estimate the influence of the Oxford Conversions on the Catholic Church in this country is a difficult and perhaps a hazardous undertaking. One historical accident, especially, has confused the traces — 1845, the year of Newman's conversion, was the year when the potato crop failed in Ireland. And the immigration of Irishmen into England that followed must in any case have profoundly modified the character of our Catholic congregations, so small till then and so homogeneous. This is especially true of

the northern dioceses, in which for better or worse no Tractarian influence has ever been *directly* felt. But in the south I think it may be said that the stream of conversions which begins, for practical purposes, with 1845 has had a double effect. It brought fresh blood and fresh life into an island Catholicism which, for all its splendid qualities, had become doubly insular—isolated in great measure from all contact with its Protestant fellow-countrymen at home, and with its foreign co-religionists abroad.

The former part of the proposition hardly needs establishing. To take a single instance, there can be little doubt that Newman's school at the Oratory, small as it was and still is, drove the other Catholic schools by force of competition to come into line, more and more, with non-Catholic educational traditions; to slough, more, and more, the restraints of the *petit séminaire* and the aluminate. The Catholic stock was rescued from the danger of in-breeding; Catholic thought was illuminated by fresh windows of experience. On the other side, the ultramontanisms of Manning and Ward counterbalanced, with happy results, the persecution-bred mentality, tending towards Gallicanism, of so many Catholics of the old school; Faber and others of his following widened our devotional outlook by drawing more freely from Continental sources; ceremonial and liturgy were restored to favour, after suffering so long from an enforced neglect.

Meanwhile, in the Church of England itself the Movement ceased to be a University movement, and, as it spread into the parishes, became identified more and more with ritual and ceremonial innovations; and these aroused, for a generation or more, a stimulating though not a very desperate kind of persecution. In the event, as we all know, it has secured recognition, and even a place in the sun. There is, and probably there always will be, a small coterie of irreconcilables, who express a divine discontent with all that is characteristic in Anglicanism, and desire, without concealment, the imagined amenities of a corporate re-union with ourselves. But the main body, now content to describe itself as Anglo-Catholic, has settled down, it seems, on terms of amicable rivalry with its theological neighbours, not well represented among the episcopate, but powerful in the councils of Anglicanism. How much it has done that could not have been done by other schools of thought—the Evangelical, for example—can only be a matter of conjecture. But it is certainly unfair to represent High Church-





INTERIOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE CHAPEL (*By courtesy of 'Country Life'*)
'I loved Trinity Chapel at Oxford more than any other building.'

men as merely interested in the externals and accessories of worship. A very large number of them make use of the confessional, a powerful aid to contrition; and the interior life has been fostered, to a remarkable degree, by the revival of sacramental doctrine and, among women especially, of the conventual life.

All this is not to say that the existence of the Movement at present is a help, rather than a hindrance, as regards the conversion of England. I have heard much said on both sides without being able to arrive at any conclusion. What does seem clear is that, ever since the publication of *Lux Mundi*, the thought of the Anglo-Catholic school has been progressively weakened — broadened, its own champions would say — by the infiltration of Modernism. On most fundamental points, but especially over the doctrine of the Incarnation, modern High Anglicans scarcely apologize for holding views which Pusey or Liddon would have disowned as heretical. This tendency, strangely inconsistent with their traditionalist views where the ministry and the Sacraments are concerned, is made possible by a modern notion of 'authority' which is destined, I think, sooner or later to involve fresh searchings of heart.

Meanwhile, it is unmistakably clear that the Oxford Movement has leavened the Anglican Church as a whole. In fact, we may almost say that it has turned the Established Church into an Anglican Church. A hundred years ago, it must have seemed to the external view like a creeper growing up the wall of a building — and in danger, so the Tractarians thought, of being pulled down by the Jacobin forces which were threatening to demolish the support it rested on. To-day, you see it as a tree standing by the tenacity of its own roots, exposed to all the winds of our disturbed world-conditions, and not yielding to them. The Bishops, who fought so hard at one time to repress the growth of ritualism, were themselves subtly influenced by its pretensions, and came to realize their own stature more, as the Tractarians had hoped. They exchanged the dignity of the full-bottomed wig and the coach for that of the pectoral cross and the pastoral staff. The clergy were no longer content to maintain a reflected glory as a cadet branch of the squirearchy; they formed themselves, unconsciously, into a sacerdotal caste, with a dignity which came from the office, not from the social standing of the man. And, at the same time, the greater importance attaching to our Colonial empire reflected itself in a greater importance attaching to the Colonial dioceses, so

that the Anglican communion began to take on an œcumenical air, and the Archbishop of Canterbury seemed to hold a position not altogether fantastically described by the title '*alterius orbis papa*'. No doubt external circumstances, quite unconnected with the Oxford Movement, made these changes of emphasis necessary. But it is probable that they could not have been made so effortlessly, if the Tractarians of 1833 had not set themselves to reassert the apostolical mission, as they conceived it, of their own Church. To that extent, their first ambitions have been realized.

But, while it is natural that modern Anglicans should congratulate themselves on the development so achieved, it is doubtful whether Englishmen, as such, have not cause to regret it. Anglicanism's gain has been England's loss, if the Church of England in consolidating its own position has lost its characteristic quality as the Church of the English people. A hundred years ago, the Church of England could boast that it was the nation at prayer, and England was officially a Christian country. To-day England is a pagan country, and the Church of England is a sect among the sects. Now, it is quite true that by 1833 the Established Church had, for the most part, lost its hold on the population at large, and that Wesleyanism, in the country districts especially, had stripped it to the bone. And it is quite possible that, with the general growth of infidelity, the de-Christianizing of England must in any case have come about. But we may question whether the Evangelical Movement, which had already done wonders in the fifty years of its existence, might not have retrieved the situation which Keble deplored in his Assize Sermon. What if Newman had never joined the Tractarians, had remained an Evangelical, and Secretary in Oxford of the Church Missionary Society? Industrialism was still young, and infidelity only skin-deep; could England have been saved for the English Church, if the English Church had felt less alarm, in 1833, about its own prerogatives?

Once more, let us disclaim knowledge of the futuribles. What happened, in any case, was that the men who went out from Oxford under Tractarian influences, the flower of the Anglican clergy, aroused controversy everywhere by their assertion of sacerdotal pretensions, and made themselves a party everywhere at the expense of disedifying a sullen majority. England was not ripe for clericalism, and the appearance of clericalism in the parsonage encouraged the drift towards the chapels. When, in the 'sixties,

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Ritualism began to be associated with devoted service of the poor in the London slums, it was too late to save the situation; men like Stanton and Dolling could only reclaim, as the Salvation Army reclaims, a remnant amongst a population already lost to Christianity. It is difficult not to feel that if Victorian Anglicanism had been less militantly Anglican, had been at least on visiting terms with Dissent, the secularization of English thought might have been retarded, and the ordinary Englishman be less reluctant than he is to pass under the doorway of a church.

If Newman had remained a High Churchman . . . if Newman had remained an Evangelical — it is the test of Newman's greatness that the effects of such contingencies can be, and are, discussed without absurdity.

(Reprinted by kind permission of the *Clergy Review*)

NEWMAN AND DOMINIC

BY THE REV. FR. URBAN YOUNG, C.P.

IN their proposal to erect a Newman Memorial Church at Littlemore, the Salesian Fathers deserve the practical sympathy and gratitude of thoughtful Catholics the world over. For it was at Littlemore, where he had lain on his Anglican deathbed since 1842, that Newman came to see clearly the 'Blessed Vision of Peace'—as he penned the immortal conclusion of his *Essay on Development*. It was at Littlemore that the mists of time were rolled away and the historic Christian Church, Catholic and Apostolic, rose up before his eyes, a great overwhelming objective fact, venerable yet young, majestic yet infinitely tender.

But to speak of Littlemore and the great Secession reminds us also, not only of Newman, but of the man who journeyed thither on October 8th, 1845, to receive Newman's submission to the church Catholic. From Littlemore Newman wrote to Henry Wilberforce on October 7th: 'Father Dominic, the Passionist, is passing this way from Aston in Staffordshire to Belgium . . . and I mean to ask him admission into the one true Fold of the Redeemer.' Amid the acclamations of the Catholic world, the conversion of Newman one hundred years ago is being celebrated with universal jubilation, and rightly. But amid the rejoicings, shall we not also remember Dominic Barberi, Founder of the Passionists in North West Europe and England, who was the divinely chosen instrument of that conversion? To ask the question is to answer it.

As to the form which that remembrance of the great Passionist should take, we are left in no doubt by the Head of the Church in this country. His Grace, the Archbishop of Westminster, set on foot, last autumn, a Crusade of Prayer for the Beatification of Venerable Dominic. 'One of the best methods', he wrote, 'of celebrating the Centenary, would be to have Father Dominic beatified.' Few words, but much to the point. Newman himself would have rejoiced to see this day, and join in the Crusade of Prayer for the Church's seal to be set upon the sanctity of the holy priest, who was his deliberate choice for the great Reconciliation of October 8th, 1845. Towards the end of his life, Newman, then in Rome, was interrogated officially by Cardinal Parocchi, in

connection with Venerable Dominic's 'Cause', which had just been introduced. 'I thank you,' he said, 'for the interest you manifest in a "Cause" which to me is most dear. Father Dominic was a marvellous missionary and preacher, filled with zeal. He had a great part in my own conversion and in that of others. His very look had about it something holy. No wonder that I became his convert and his penitent. He was a great lover of England. I hope that Rome will crown him with the Aureole of the Saints.'

With the passing of the years, Newman's hope seems likely to be fulfilled. On Pentecost Sunday, 1936, Rome issued a Decree declaring that Venerable Dominic had practised the theological and cardinal virtues in a Heroic Degree. And now, in 1945 — a mighty surge of prayer is going up all over the English speaking Catholic world that, if God so will, Holy Church may crown Dominic Barberi with the Aureole of the Blessed. May we plead that all into whose hands this brochure may fall will join the great multitude already engaged in this Crusade of Prayer for the success of the 'Cause' so dear to Newman.

With the reception of Dalgairns at Aston Hall on September 27th, 1845, the curtain rose on the drama of Littlemore. On October 3rd, Newman resigned his Oriel Fellowship. On October 5th, we find in his diary: 'I kept indoors all day preparing for general confession.' On October 7th, Newman wrote to Wilberforce — the historic letter quoted earlier in this article and on the 8th, Dominic reached Littlemore at 11 p.m., soaked with rain. As he stood to dry himself before the nearest fire, Newman entered the room, and flung himself at Dominic's feet. 'What a spectacle it was for me', wrote Dominic afterwards, 'to see at my feet John Henry Newman begging me to admit him into the bosom of the Catholic Church.' That scene at Littlemore — the midnight hour, the rain, and the two absorbed figures by the fire — is etched for ever in the memory of Catholic England.

And now it is to be immortalized in stone through the energy and zeal of the Salesian Fathers. The beautiful church which, ere long, will rise on this historic site to be a 'Newman Memorial' will also be — may we say it? — a Memorial to the humble saintly Passionist who made history on this spot a hundred years ago. The Salesian Fathers deserve every practical support in this fresh proof of their zeal. These are names to conjure with — Newman, Dominic, Littlemore. Floreat Littlemore!

NEWMAN'S PLACE IN HISTORY

NEWMAN AND THE MODERN WORLD

BY CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

THE religious history of the nineteenth century has yet to be written. The material is too vast and the workers are too few, so that as yet they are hardly able to do more than explore the fringes of their subject. But when it comes to be written, I think there is no doubt that the personality and genius of Newman will be seen as a key point of the whole development, as at once the embodiment and the contradiction of the spirit of his age.

We are accustomed to regard the nineteenth century as the age when western culture became completely secularized. Yet at the same time, it was an age of religious revival — of a renaissance of Christianity, the importance of which has not yet been fully appreciated. In the eighteenth century the Catholic Church was a venerable structure which seemed tottering and decadent. Then came the Revolution, and at its impact the whole edifice of traditional ecclesiasticism crashed in ruin and destruction. The Gallican Church was destroyed, the ecclesiastical principalities and the Holy Roman Empire were secularized, the Pope was chased out of Rome and the monasteries and universities of Catholic Europe were dissolved. A hundred years later when Leo XIII died the Church was stronger than it had been since the seventeenth century, and not only in Catholic Europe but in the Protestant North, in the new lands beyond the seas and in the missionary countries of Asia and Africa, many of which were first opened to Christian influence at this period. It is clear that Catholicism possessed a principle of life and spiritual development of which the world had been completely unaware, and it was not until the Church was brought into sharp opposition with the spirit of the age and was increasingly threatened by the domination of a completely secular culture that its intrinsic power of regeneration and growth was manifested.

It was the mission of Newman to be the philosopher and interpreter of this Christian renaissance and he was equally alive to both its positive and its negative aspects. He realized with exceptional keenness of perception and clarity of vision the new dangers





THE LIBRARY AT ORIEL. (*By courtesy of National Buildings Record*)

This was built about 25 years before Newman became a Fellow. To the left are seen the folio volumes of the Fathers and the Councils; it was the study of these that played such a dominant part in Newman's intellectual and religious development.

which threatened the Christian faith and the whole traditional order of Christian civilization. And at the same time he discovered and investigated the internal principle of development in the life of the Church by which what is already implicitly contained in Christian faith and tradition is unfolded and applied to meet the needs of the age, so that every new challenge to the Faith becomes an opportunity for the conquest of new truths and reveals unsuspected depths of meaning in truths that are already familiar.

It was only gradually that Newman became aware of the implications of his principles and the direction in which they were to lead him. His thought developed slowly and painfully. Every step was carefully thought out, as though it were an end in itself, and he often deliberately shut his eyes to the step that had to follow,

Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene — one step enough for me.

Nevertheless, his intellectual pilgrimage was a consistent development of a line of thought which conducted him slowly but undeviatingly to his predestined goal, and his intense meditation on the gradual unfolding of truth in his own mind provided him with a key to the interpretation of the mystery of faith in the history of mankind and the life of the Church.

Newman approached the religious problem of the modern world at an oblique angle, so to speak, to the main current of his generation. He was never subjected, like de Maistre or Lamennais or Lacordaire, to the direct shock of the revolutionary spirit of the age. His mind was formed in the remote and sheltered environment of pre-Victorian Oxford at a time when the University was one of the last strongholds of traditional culture, a celibate society of clerical corporations which had retained their constitution and their privileges almost intact from the Middle Ages. No society could have seemed more remote and secure from the storm centres of the age, and the impact of revolutionary thought reached it only in a muffled and attenuated form. The questions that agitated the University were from the European point of view storms in a very small tea-cup and its leaders a group of remote and ineffectual dons who were attempting to set back the clock of modern progress. Nevertheless, as Matthew Arnold recognized a generation later, Newman's criticism of the spirit of the age had a far deeper influence than his contemporaries realized, and his name

lives and will live when those of the leaders of enlightened thought — the Molesworths and Grotes and Roebucks — are forgotten.

The movement against which Newman directed his criticism and which he termed 'Liberalism' was in fact the movement of progressive secularism which became the dominant force in nineteenth century civilization and shaped the world in which we live to-day. In the form in which he first mentioned it, in the ideas of men like Peel and Brougham and Macaulay it was neither a revolutionary nor an anti-religious movement. It advocated religious toleration, the diffusion of useful knowledge, social reform and economic progress. Nevertheless, behind the innocuous platitudes of Sir Robert Peel and Dr. Hampden, Newman felt the steady pressure of the rising tide which was to submerge, as he said forty years later, 'that goodly framework of society which is the creation of Christianity'.

For a thousand years and more Christianity had been 'the law of the land' in England and in the West: that is to say all the conscious moral effort of society was inspired by Christian ideas and directed to Christian ends. Now all this was changed. Religion was no longer the bond of society. A new principle had taken its place: the principle of utility, the greatest happiness of the greatest number, whether conceived individualistically as in English Liberalism, or collectively as in French and German Socialism.

Christian opinion was slow to realize the implications of this movement. In England, and in the Protestant world generally, religious people shut their eyes to the fundamental character of the issues, and evolved that concordat between popular Protestantism and bourgeois capitalism which characterized the Victorian compromise. In Catholic Europe the issues were more sharply defined and there was no mistaking the character of the conflict. Nevertheless here also religious people shut their eyes to the inevitability of the changes that were taking place in modern culture and put their faith in the restoration of the Christian state and the defeat of the revolution by an alliance with political conservatism. Newman was almost the only Christian thinker who realized the anti-Christian character of the trend to secularism without indulging in wishful thinking or identifying the cause of the Church with that of the political reactionaries. And consequently he was rejected by both sides and was condemned by the leaders of the Catholic

revival as a Liberal and compromiser and by the Victorian Liberals as an arch reactionary who was misusing his brilliant literary and dialectical powers to serve the cause of obscurantism. That was the tragedy of Newman's later life — a real tragedy, since it separated him from his old colleagues and disciples in both camps — from Ward and Faber and Dalgairns, as well as from Whately and Blanco White and Gladstone, and left him isolated with men like Acton and Simpson who had no real community of thought and aim with him. He was a lonely man because he saw further and deeper than his contemporaries. From a very early stage in his career he had been convinced that 'a new cycle of sacred history' was about to begin and that as the old tradition of Christian culture was submerged by the rising tide of secularism, the Church could rely on no external aid but only on the inherent and indefeasible principle of her supernatural life.¹

But this conviction had nothing in common with that obscurantist spirit which welcomes the separation of Christianity from modern culture because it is itself entirely lacking in appreciation of the gifts of culture and the values of science. Newman's doctrine of development was inspired by an intense faith in the boundless powers of assimilation which the Christian faith possessed and which made it a unitive principle in life and thought. The Church had with her, he wrote, 'the very archetypes of which paganism attempted the shadows',² and therefore she was able to bring in all the riches of the Gentiles and to enlarge the range of her own teaching by the progressive conquest of new spiritual territory.

Hence although Newman realized, like Leo XIII, that the modern world was on the verge of a great moral catastrophe, he never accepted the fundamental historical pessimism which is so common to-day, and which was expressed so powerfully in his own time by his great Protestant contemporary, Kierkegaard. For Newman saw that it was only in history that the divine process of progressive revelation and spiritual renovation could be fulfilled. 'The Church', he wrote, 'does not teach that human nature is irreclaimable, else wherefore should she be sent? not that it is to be shattered and reversed but to be extricated, purified and restored;

¹ Cf. his letters to Mrs. Maskell in W. G. Ward's *Life*, II, 415-16, and the address on his Cardinalate, *ibid.* II, 460-62.

² *Essay on the Idea of Development* (1st ed.), p. 358.

not that it is a mere mass of hopeless evil, but that it has the promise upon it of great things, and even now, in its present state of disorder and excess, has a virtue and a praise proper to itself. But in the next place, she knows and she preaches that such a restoration, as she aims at effecting in it, must be brought about, not simply through any outward provisions of preaching and teaching, even though it be her own, but from a certain inward spiritual power and grace imparted directly from above and which is in her keeping. She has in charge to rescue human nature from its misery, but not simply by raising it upon its own level, but by lifting it up to a higher level than its own. She recognizes in it real moral excellence, though degraded, but she cannot set it free from earth except by exalting it towards heaven. It was for this end that a renovating grace was put into her hands, and therefore from the nature of the gift, as well as from the reasonableness of the case, she goes on, as a further point, to insist that all true conversion must begin with the first springs of thought and to teach that each individual man must be in his own person one whole and perfect temple of God, while he is also one of the living stones that build up a visible religious community.¹

May 1945.

¹ *Apologia pro vita sua* (Oxford edition, ed. W. Ward), pp. 339-40. The whole of this concluding section of the *Apologia* from pp. 333 to 359 (pp. 241-68 in Longmans' Ed.) is essential to the understanding of Newman's doctrine of development and of his philosophy of history.

FATHER DOMINIC BARBERI AND LITTLEMORE

BY DENIS GWYNN

HE is a simple quaint man, an Italian; but a very sharp clever man too, in his way. It is an accident his coming here, and I had no thoughts of applying to him till quite lately, nor should, I suppose, but for this accident.' So Newman wrote in his famous letter to Henry Wilberforce from Littlemore, while he awaited the arrival of Father Dominic Barberi, who did not even yet know that the urgent invitation from his young friend Dalgairns was to result immediately in his receiving Newman into the Catholic Church. But Father Dominic's arrival at Littlemore on that October night, soaked through with rain, was far from being the 'accident' which Newman believed at the time. It was the fulfilment of years of patient and earnest waiting. Even Dalgairns can scarcely have guessed how closely Father Dominic had cherished the correspondence that they had kept up for four years before they even met, or how constantly his thoughts dwelt upon Littlemore since he had first heard its name.

Father Dominic was still in Belgium, deeply engaged in the Passionist foundation which he had been sent from Italy to establish at Ere, when he first read the signature of John Dobree Dalgairns. He had paid his first visit to England at the end of 1840 when Wiseman had invited him to come and inspect Aston Hall in Staffordshire, which was being offered to him as the house for the first Passionist foundation in England. At Oscott and on a visit to his friend Ambrose Phillipps at Grace Dieu, he had heard wonderful stories of the new Anglo-Catholic movement at Oxford; and when in the following April he read the anonymous letter from a 'Young member of Oxford University' in the *Unviers* he was so moved that he wrote an extremely long reply which was duly published in the same journal. In answer to his own contribution Father Dominic had received a personal letter from the author, who revealed his identity as John Dobree Dalgairns, a young fellow of Magdalen who was one of the most devoted of Newman's followers. They continued to exchange letters at intervals, and shortly before Easter 1842, when Father Dominic was at last in occupation of Aston Hall, he wrote inviting his young friend to visit him there and see the monastic life in practice.

By that time Newman had set himself resolutely against all personal communication with Catholics. He had decided to retire to Littlemore and there Lockhart and Dalgairns went to live with him, leading a most ascetic existence. And Dalgairns when he received Father Dominic's invitation to Aston Hall wrote guardedly that 'at all events while things are as they are' he had better not accept. 'It is one of the most painful of the many painful things which beset us in our present position', he wrote, 'that we cannot hold intercourse with men whom we hold so dear as I do you, if you will permit me to say so.' He hoped, however, that Father Dominic would write to him, and he asked particularly for information about the Passionist rules. Letters, he explained, should be addressed to him at the Parsonage, Littlemore, Oxford.

That was in October, 1842. A group of letters from Dalgairns to Father Dominic has been preserved, written at long intervals and concluding with his request of September 20th, 1845 that he might go to Aston Hall and be received as a Catholic there. Almost every letter begins by apologizing for long delay in replying to some act of kindness on Father Dominic's part, and indicates the promptitude and sympathy with which all letters from Littlemore were answered. And in his letters to the Passionist Father General in Rome, Father Dominic refers on various occasions to 'the Oxford student who wrote me a Latin letter during my stay in Belgium'. Father Dominic had in fact acquired a most exaggerated idea of the Catholic tendencies in the High Church party, before he began work in England. It arose partly from his friendship in Rome with the converts Ambrose Phillips and George Spencer and Sir Henry Trelawney, both the latter being convert clergymen who were entering the Catholic priesthood; and still more from the romantic reports of what was happening in Oxford which he received from Ambrose Phillips in Leicestershire. His stay at Oscott while he was waiting to take possession of Aston Hall had shown him that the English Catholics generally regarded Newman and the whole Tractarian movement with distrust and even open hostility. He felt that it was his own duty to win their confidence, and his reply to the famous letter in the *Univers* had shown him how gratefully Dalgairns and his friends had responded to sympathetic treatment. Writing to his General in 1841 he had reported how 'I heard that the man to whom I directed my Oxford "Letter"' read it on his knees, and that his reading of it was interrupted by





FATHER DOMINIC BARBERI, C.P.

tears. Surely a sign of good dispositions! I hope to see some of the Oxford men, soon'.

But it was not till the early summer of 1844 that he met his unknown correspondent face to face, and even then it was he who took the initiative. He had been giving a series of missions in the Midlands, varying from the stately surroundings of Swynnerton and Heythrop to the 'hay loft somewhere near Oxford', where he told his General he had 'preached to about five hundred Protestants'. How they came there, one can scarcely even conjecture, but Father Dominic took all these mixed audiences as he found them, and the fact of having been brought near Oxford enabled him to pay his first visit to the hermitage at Littlemore. It was Wiseman's instruction, which he followed most strictly, that the Passionists should not wear their religious habit or sandals in going from place to place, but only when actually giving the mission. So it was in the threadbare clothing of a secular priest that he made his way from Oxford in June, 1844, to present himself at Littlemore. In a letter to his General he had explained beforehand that when in the vicinity of Oxford he hoped 'to have an opportunity of seeing someone of these so-called Puseyites, particularly the one with whom I corresponded without ever having seen him'. A month later he reported again, but almost incidentally, that he had actually visited Littlemore 'to see the new monastery of Anglican "monks"', and was received with every token of cordiality and sincere regard by Dr. Newman, the founder, and his disciples'. No other record of their interview survives except for that brief allusion in Newman's letter to Henry Wilberforce in which he mentions that he 'saw him over here for a few minutes on St. John the Baptist's day last year, when he came to see the chapel'.

Father Dominic had been most profoundly impressed by the extreme austerity and simplicity of the 'monastery'. 'You may have thought of it as a kind of Monte Cassino,' he wrote afterwards to his General. 'I assure you I have never seen any monastery so poor . . . Our retreats are palaces compared to this.' He had brought with him several manuscripts of his own which he left with Dalgairns, hoping that they would help to resolve his religious uncertainty. But months passed and Dalgairns did not write till October, while Father Dominic must have felt that his own visit had been a disastrous failure. Even then Dalgairns con-

fessed frankly that he had not yet 'had time to look at' the books which Father Dominic had left for his instruction. But the letter was infinitely consoling; for it contained a request which showed how completely he had gained his young friend's confidence. He was now asking for Father Dominic's help in obtaining for the community a number of hair shirts and disciplines, and the letter conveyed quite plainly that Newman himself was a party to this request.

Father Dominic helped them immediately; and in his next letter, still asking earnestly for prayers, Dalgairns added that 'Mr. Newman is always glad to hear news about yourself'. It was not only for his austerity and the poverty of his life that Newman revered Father Dominic, but most of all because it was he and his Italian missionaries who had first demonstrated what he had believed the Catholic Church to be no longer capable of undertaking. It was he who had in his own person fulfilled the condition that Newman had laid down in a private letter intended for Ambrose Phillipps to see: 'If they want to convert England let them go barefooted into our manufacturing towns; let them preach to the people like St. Francis Xavier; let them be pelted and trampled on, and I will admit that they are our betters far.'

To Father Dominic himself Newman's position in the Church of England had never been intelligible. His letters to Rome gave such an impression of his importance that the General referred to Newman as 'the head of Oxford University'. Father Dominic hastened to correct this by describing him as the 'head of a religious house — Littlemore by name — near Oxford'. Yet Newman himself had protested to the Bishop of Oxford that he had never intended to found a religious community, and that he and his few friends were simply trying to lead 'a more regular life', about which he found it 'unpleasant to speak even to my bishop'. Even at the time when Father Dominic had boldly paid his first visit to Littlemore Newman did not even consider himself as being in Anglican orders, but as 'in lay communion'. It was Littlemore as a religious house, however, much more than the position of Newman himself or even of his young friend Dalgairns that occupied so large a place in Father Dominic's thoughts during these years. When in the following September Dalgairns wrote begging permission to come secretly to Aston Hall, to make his profession of faith as a Catholic there, Father Dominic's reply overflowed

with happiness and welcome. It ended with an earnest message conveying 'my best respects to the Rev. Mr. Newman, Mr. St. John, and to all your holy companions of Littlemore. Dear Littlemore, I love thee! A little more still and we shall see happy results from Littlemore. When the learned and holy Superior of Littlemore will come, then I hope we shall see the beginning of a new era. Yes, we shall see again the happy days of Augustine, of Lanfranc, and Thomas'.

In the weeks that followed, nearly all Newman's companions at Littlemore went separately to Catholic houses to be received as converts. But for Newman himself there was no Catholic friend to whom he could turn after those years of introspection in which he had studiously avoided every meeting with Catholics. It was entirely due to Father Dominic's brave persistence and enterprise that he had already visited Littlemore in the previous year. He had then at least made Newman's acquaintance. It was Dalgairns who realized, after he returned to Littlemore when Father Dominic had received him, that if a priest whom Newman respected and trusted could arrive providentially at Littlemore, the whole difficulty of his having to find a Catholic confessor would be overcome. And when he wrote urgently to Aston begging Father Dominic to spend a night as his guest at Littlemore on his way to Belgium, there was at least a strong probability that Newman would seize the opportunity of confiding in him. So what Newman described to Henry Wilberforce as the 'accident' of his arriving at that moment was in fact very far from being a mere coincidence. And when Father Dominic wrote delightedly to Rome to report the wonderful events that had occurred, his General was scarcely surprised that those long years of prayer and vigilant waiting had ended in achievement.

In reporting it all to Rome, Father Dominic described how, having said Mass 'in a Catholic church at Oxford' on the morning after his arrival at Littlemore, he had on the two following mornings said Mass 'in their private chapel'. 'All that I have suffered since I left Italy is well compensated by such a happy event as this', he wrote; and some days later, writing on his way back from Belgium, he explained that 'on my journey I shall call at Oxford to see if I can, my recent good converts, and perhaps receive others into the bosom of the Church. If I succeed I will see about starting a mission there, as some solace for the converts. The

Abbé Haffreingue has promised a chalice and vestments for the purpose'. In Rome his superiors were almost bewildered by the extent of his success. 'I suppose that the chapel — the scene of so many prodigies of grace and consecrated also, to a certain extent by your Masses there—has been turned into a Catholic chapel,' his General wrote in reply. 'If there is no mission already established in Oxford', he added, 'it may be necessary to see that that is done; but the Vicar Apostolic should be consulted and be responsible for this.' Father Dominic knew well that permanent missions could not be easily established, but he had a definite intention of giving a brief public mission in Oxford, as he had done so successfully in many other places, whether in remote villages or in overcrowded cities like Liverpool and Manchester. He did not understand the self-consciousness of early Victorian Oxford.

Writing sadly from Aston after his return there, he reported to Rome: 'With regard to Oxford affairs, there is much for which to praise God, but nothing to boast about personally. I should have very much liked to stay there for some time, and if it was possible, open a chapel at Littlemore. But the thing is not practicable. There is an old Catholic mission already at Oxford, with a Jesuit in charge. When I proposed to give a mission there he smiled — that was all! The chapel where I said Mass at Littlemore is not public, but a private oratory inside the enclosure. It is nothing more than a small dark room in the interior of the monastery. On my return from France, I brought with me everything necessary with which to say Mass there, but found it was not possible for the moment. The converts go to Mass in the public church at Oxford, a league away. I therefore went there also, for one morning, and gave Holy Communion to all the converts.'

A hundred years were to pass with no permanent Catholic chapel at the place where Newman and his companions had made their submission at Father Dominic's feet. But the memory of that historic meeting has become part of the Catholic heritage in all English-speaking countries. And after a hundred years, steps are being taken to see that Father Dominic's desire to see a Catholic church in Littlemore shall be most worthily fulfilled.

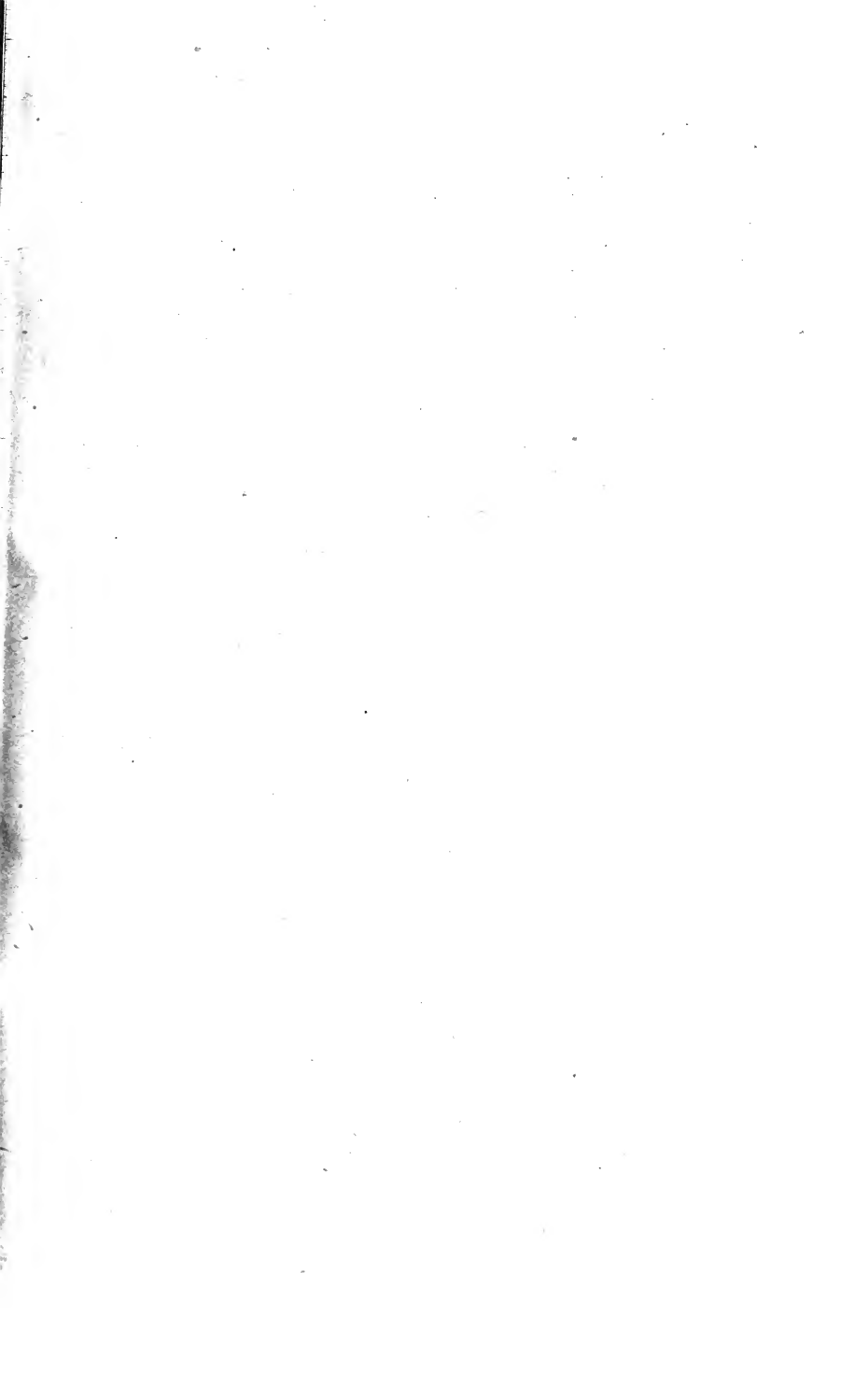
NEWMAN AND OXFORD

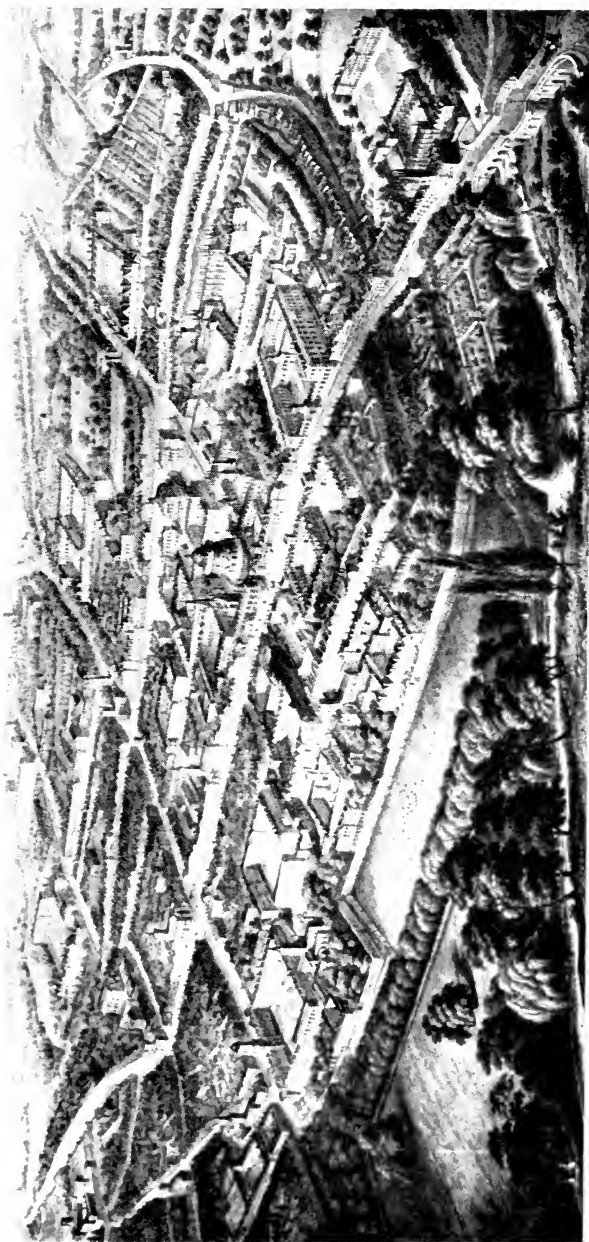
BY WILLIAM ABEL PANTIN (FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE)

THE name of John Henry Newman is so closely linked with Oxford that it is worth while considering carefully their relationship, the influence of Oxford upon Newman and of Newman upon Oxford. What was the setting of Newman's university life? What was Oxford like in 1822, the year when he became a Fellow of Oriel? In the first place, Oxford was very small and countrified and peaceful, to a degree that we can hardly realize. Nowadays the medieval university city has become a tiny enclave in a big industrial and residential town; 'the Latin Quarter of Morris Cowley', as it has been wittily called. In 1822 the place had hardly grown in extent since the Middle Ages; the green meadows came right up to the medieval walled city, unencumbered as yet by suburbs, except for the picturesque streets of St. Giles to the north and St. Clement's (where Newman had his first curacy) to the east. Even now, the spire of St. Mary's (Newman's church) dominates its immediate surroundings, like the belfry at Bruges or the campanile of St. Marks; then, it must have loomed up even more impressively, especially when seen from London coach-road over Headington Hill or across the marshes of Cowley. The life and livelihood of Oxford depended then almost entirely upon the University; it used to be said that grass grew in the streets during the Long Vacation. The University itself was small, by modern standards: the average intake of freshmen was about four hundred, and the total undergraduate population would probably be about one thousand five hundred, with perhaps two or three hundred senior members, distributed among nineteen Colleges. The Colleges were correspondingly small in scale: Oriel, which was a middle-sized College, would have about sixty undergraduates; of its eighteen Fellows, only a half, perhaps, or two-thirds, would be resident, and only four would be engaged in teaching the undergraduates. The purpose of College Fellowships was not then, and never had been, to provide instructors for the young; and it was their freedom from teaching duties that enabled Newman and his friends to organize the Tractarian movement. The Fellows were not bound to reside — many of them were country clergymen or schoolmasters or barristers — but they were still bound to the

medieval rule of celibacy, so that when he married, a man had to give up his Fellowship, and he would generally retire to a College living. This tended to eliminate middle-aged and elderly Fellows, so that the Senior Common Room of a College would generally consist of a small group of young men, of about the same generation, with an extraordinary identity of intellectual and professional interests. They had all studied the same subjects — the classics, mathematics, theology — and they were nearly all clergymen. And of necessity they led an intimate, communal life, which has been well described by Dean Church, a friend and younger colleague of Newman: 'Oxford was a place where everyone knew his neighbour, and measured him, and was more or less friendly or repellent; where the customs of life brought men together every day and all day, in converse, or discussion; and where every fresh statement or every new step taken furnished endless material for speculation or debate, in common rooms or in the afternoon walk. And for this reason, too, feelings were apt to be more keen and intense and personal than in the larger scenes of life; the man who was disliked or distrusted, was so close to his neighbours that he was more irritating than if he had been obscured by a crowd; the man who attracted confidence and kindled enthusiasm, whose voice was continually in men's ears, and whose private conversation and life was something ever new in its sympathy and charm, created in those about him not mere admiration, but passionate friendship, or unreserved discipleship.' It was in this setting, then, that Newman lived and worked for about a quarter of a century.

Newman was born in 1801, and came up as an undergraduate to Trinity College in 1817. He was young, and shy, intensely serious and strongly influenced by the Evangelical movement of his day: the year before coming to Oxford, he had undergone a conversion, 'of which', he afterwards wrote in the *Apologia*, 'I am still more certain than that I have hands and feet'. Owing to overwork, he failed to do himself justice when he came to his final examinations in 1820. Nevertheless, in 1822 he went on to compete for a Fellowship at Oriel, then one of the most coveted prizes in Oxford. At the close of the examination he wrote: 'I have several times been much comforted yesterday and to-day by a motto in Oriel hall, *Pie repono te*' (the punning motto of the Pierpont family, in a coat of arms in a window). The next day, April 12th, 1822, he was elected Fellow of Oriel. When the messenger





BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF OXFORD IN NEWMAN'S TIME. (By courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

‘There lay old Oxford before him, with its hills as gentle and its meadows as green as ever. Each college, each Church – he counted them by their pinnacles and turrets. The silver Isis, the grey willows, the far stretching plains, the dark groves, the distant range of Shotover . . . and he was a stranger where he had hoped to have a home.’ (*Loss and Gain*.)

came to announce his election, and summon him to Oriel, Newman was playing the violin; he merely answered, 'Very well', and went on fiddling. But 'no sooner had the man left, than he flung down his instrument, and dashed down stairs with all speed to Oriel College. And he recollected, after fifty years, the eloquent faces and eager bows of the tradesmen and others . . . who had heard the news, and well understood why he was crossing from St. Mary's to the lane opposite at so extraordinary a pace.' 'The bells were set ringing from three towers (I had to pay for them). The men who were staying up at Trinity, reading for their degrees, accuse me of having spoilt their day's reading,' he writes. 'I am absolutely a member of the Common-Room; am called by them "Newman", and am abashed, and find I must soon learn to call them "Keble", "Hawkins", "Tyler".'

Newman always regarded his election to Oriel as the turning point of his life, 'of all days the most memorable'; for that other memorable day, October 9th, 1845, was but the culmination of a long prepared change. Among other things, he was now brought into contact with new and powerful intellectual influences. On the one hand, there was the circle of brilliant men, known as the 'Noetics', who had helped to give Oriel the great name and place that it had in early nineteenth century Oxford. Of these men, it was to Richard Whately that Newman owed most. 'While I was still awkward and timid in 1822', he writes, 'he took me by the hand, and acted towards me the part of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He, emphatically, opened my mind, and taught me to think and use my reason.' It was to Whately that Newman once proposed to dedicate a work, as to the one 'who, by teaching me to think, taught me to differ from himself'. There were dangers in Whately's influence: 'the truth is, I was beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral; I was drifting in the direction of the liberalism of the day. I was rudely awakened from my dream at the end of 1827 by two great blows — illness and bereavement'. But there was another and more lasting influence at Oriel: his friendship with Keble and Richard Hurrell Froude, in company with whom he learnt to hold and expound the characteristic Tractarian doctrines about the nature and claims of the Church. Foremost among these doctrines was the appeal to Antiquity, to the authority of the Fathers. His interest in and attraction towards the Fathers went back to his school days, but he would

find at Oriel plenty to encourage this interest, not only among his friends, but also among books. Like most of the old College libraries, the Oriel library was well stocked with the Fathers and with the medieval schoolmen; on entering the great library, built by Wyatt a generation before Newman's arrival, one cannot help being struck by the rows upon rows of folio editions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and of the Councils — one is compassed about with a cloud of witnesses. In 1828 Newman began systematically reading through the Fathers, and writing about them, beginning with his work on the Arians of the fourth century. His loyalty to the Fathers was one of the strongest of the forces that brought him into the Catholic Church.

Newman's Oxford life may be said to have had three centres: his College, his family, and St. Mary's. In the College life, Newman took an active part: from 1826 till about 1831 he was one of the four Tutors, and he was also at various times, Dean, Junior Treasurer, Librarian, and was even responsible for buying the wines for the Senior Common Room. He showed himself as something of an educational reformer, helping to transform the old, unreformed Oxford of Georgian times into the more serious Oxford that we know. 'The College is so altered', he writes to a friend in 1829, 'that you would hardly know it again. The tangible improvements of system have been, first, the diminishing the Gentlemen Commoners from twenty to eight or nine; then the dismissal of the Incurables; then the rejecting unprepared candidates for admission — the number is awful, some twice; then the giving chance vacancies to well-recommended and picked men; then the introduction of paper work into the Collections examinations; then the refusing testimonials to unworthy applicants; then the revival of a Chapel sermon at the Sacrament; then the announcement of a prize for Greek composition.' In particular, he set himself fiercely against the Gentlemen Commoners, young men of birth and wealth, who were over-privileged and too often irresponsible and scandalous.

It must not be thought that Newman was exclusively wrapped up in his College. Few things stand out more clearly from his correspondence than his intense affection for his family. At every step he discusses with his mother and sisters his ideas and plans and projects, the books he is writing, a friend's account of a meeting with Rossini, his views about Confirmation or the Jerusalem

Bishopric or Carlyle's *French Revolution*; in fact his letters to his family form a kind of running journal. He shares with them his interest in music, literature, mineralogy, and so forth, encouraging Harriet in her experiments with nitro-sulphate of copper or her translation of Tasso, complimenting Jemima on her invention of a 'very correct illustration of the generation of asymptotic curves' — one gets the impression that female education in this period was sometimes more elaborate than is commonly realized. Sometimes he is with his family at their cottage at Rose Hill, near Iffley, sometimes away on holiday with them at Brighton. The depth of his affection can be measured by his grief at the early death of his youngest sister Mary: it was this bereavement that helped to turn him away from liberalism to more catholic views, and his sister's memory haunted him: 'A solemn voice seems to chant from everything. I know whose voice it is — her dear voice. Her form is almost nightly before me, when I have put out the light and lain down. Is not this a blessing?' It is important to realize that the religious struggles and aspirations of Newman's Oxford life went on against this background of a completely natural, affectionate and unreserved home-life — the kind of home-life that Jane Austin or Dickens or Trollope might have described; among other things it helps to dispose of the Freudian phantasy that would represent the Tractarians as a narrow, morbid, self-centred circle of psychopathic cases.

Thirdly, the Church of St. Mary's came to play an all important part in Newman's Oxford life. He writes in the *Apologia* of his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, 'in whose College I lived, whose Altar I served'. The whole history of Oriel lies behind that phrase: for the official name of the College from its foundation, has always been 'the House of the Blessed Mary the Virgin in Oxford'; the College and Church of St. Mary form two parts of a single whole, Oriel College being the corporate Rectors of the Church, and at one time using it as the College chapel. For Newman personally, this connection became more intimate still, for he was Vicar of St. Mary's from 1828 to 1843. And it was a sermon in St. Mary's — Keble's famous Assize sermon in 1833 — that opened the Tractarian movement, that movement which began as a defence of the Church of England and in time swept Newman and so many of his friends into the Catholic Church. St. Mary's provided Newman with an ideal platform: it was there that he was at the height

of his influence. The sermons that Newman preached from the pulpit of St. Mary's are among the greatest of all his works, and the manner and circumstances of their delivery were unforgettable and irresistible. They have often been described; one account may suffice here. 'Action in the common sense there was none. Through many of them the preacher never moved anything but his head. His hands were literally not seen from the beginning to the end. The sermon began in a calm musical voice, the key slightly rising as it went on; by-and-bye the preacher warmed with his subject, it seemed as if his very soul and body glowed with suppressed emotion. There were times when, in the midst of the most thrilling passages, he would pause, without dropping his voice, for a moment which seemed long, before he uttered with gathered force and solemnity a few weighty words. . . . There are those who to this day in reading many of his sermons have the whole scene brought back before them. The great church, the congregation all breathless with expectant attention. The gaslight just at the left hand of the pulpit, lowered that the preacher might not be dazzled; themselves, perhaps, standing in the half darkness under the gallery, and then the pause before those words in the 'Ventures of the Faith' thrilled through them — 'They say unto Him, We are able' — or those in the seventh sermon in the sixth volume, "The Cross of Christ".' Hardly less important than the sermons were the lectures that Newman made a habit of giving. 'In Advent and after Easter', writes Dean Church, 'a company, never very large, used to gather on a weekday afternoon in Adam de Brome's Chapel . . . to hear him lecture on some theological subject.' Adam de Brome's chapel was the old Lady chapel, on the north side of St. Mary's, fitted up in post-reformation times as the Vice-Chancellor's court, with wainscoting and seats round the walls; it was also used as a kind of vestibule where the Heads of Colleges assembled before the University Sermons. It was partitioned off from the main body of the church, and was at that time a rather dreary apartment; its use was very characteristic of the complete indifference of the Tractarians to any kind of external pomp or décor. It was here that Newman between 1834 and 1838 delivered his lectures — afterwards published — on the *Prophetic Character of the Church*, on *Justification*, on *Antichrist*, and on *Rationalism and the Canon of Scripture*.

It is important to dwell on Newman's life at Oxford, if we are

to do full justice to him; for his love of Oxford and of his Oxford friends, and the extent to which he was rooted in the place, were in fact the measure of his sacrifice for the Faith. It is clear that Newman from an early age looked forward to spending his whole life in Oxford; *haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi*, he might have said, *hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam*. Writing of Trinity, his first College, he says in a well known passage, in the *Apologia*: 'There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my freshmen's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my University.' Again, in writing of one of the characters in his novel, *Loss and Gain*, he describes vividly his own feelings as an undergraduate: 'One night in particular came across his memory: how a friend and he had ascended to the top of one of its many towers with the purpose of making observations on the stars; and how, while his friend was busily engaged with the pointers, he, earthly-minded youth, had been looking down into the deep gas-lit, dark-shadowed quadrangles, and wondering if he should ever be Fellow of this or that college, which he singled out from the mass of academical buildings.' And again, he wrote that 'he never wished anything better or higher than, in the words of the epitaph, "to live and die a Fellow of Oriel"'. All this had to be given up, when the logic of events and of doctrines convinced him that the Catholic and Apostolic Church was, after all, to be found not in the Anglican, but in the Roman Church; and the consequent renunciation and up-rooting must have been for him a kind of martyrdom, more agonizing, one might guess, even than St. Augustine's struggle in the garden, or St. Benedict's flight from Rome, because the things he was leaving were not in any sense sordid or unworthy, but were things which hitherto he had regarded as most sacred. In what is perhaps one of the most searching passages in all his sermons, in the sermon on the 'Ventures of the Faith', he had asked: 'Let every one who hears me ask himself the question, what stake has *he* in the truth of Christ's promise? How would he be the whit the worse off, supposing (which is impossible), but, supposing it to fail? . . . What have we ventured for Christ? What have we given to Him on a belief of His promise?' And we might put into Newman's own mouth the words of the Apostles which he took as his text: 'They say unto Him, We are able.'

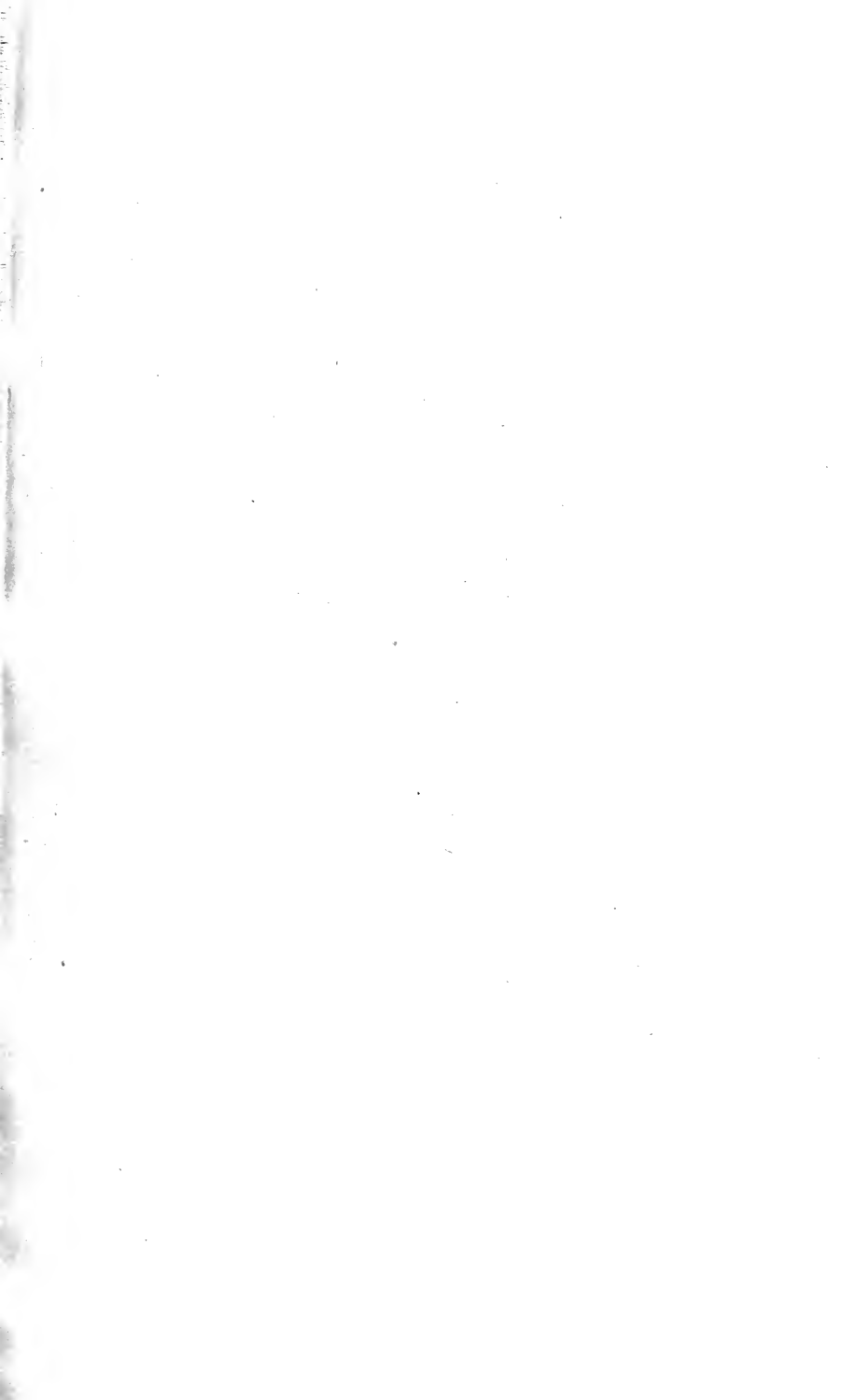
THE PAROCHIAL AND PLAIN SERMONS

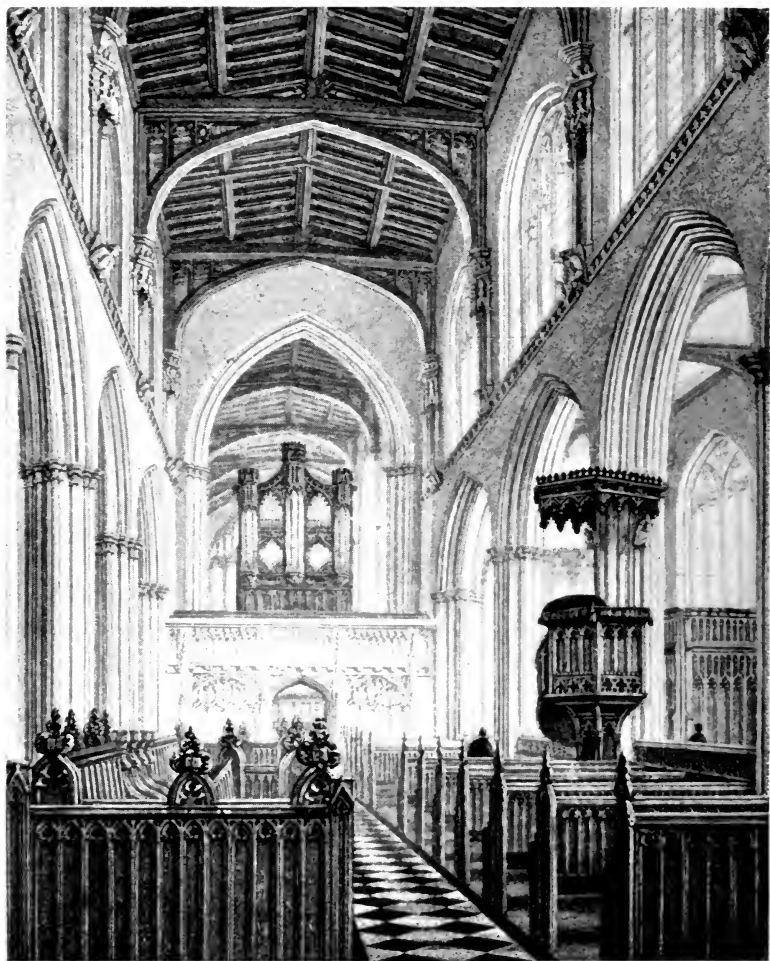
BY THE VERY REV. FR. M. C. D'ARCY, .S.J

THE *Parochial and Plain Sermons* were preached by Newman between the years 1829 and 1843. We should join with them, as belonging to the same period of his thought, *The Oxford University Sermons* and *Sermons and Subjects of the Day*. All who re-read these early books of Newman will find themselves richly rewarded. Though they are addresses by an Anglican to Anglicans, Newman already knew his theology and loved orthodoxy, and he had already learnt many of the secrets of the spiritual life and was able to impart them with incomparable clarity and persuasiveness. They are also self-revealing, and it is as such that I wish to write of them.

It is with surprise, I think, that we realize how young Newman was when he began these sermons. We hardly expect a young man of thirty to speak with such authority and knowledge on Scripture and theology, to be so unhesitating in his convictions and so prophetic in style. It is with surprise, too, that we look at the dates and see that a person so familiar to us as Newman was preaching over a hundred years ago. Second thoughts, however, remove this surprise, and in its place we are in danger of being alienated by the remoteness of Newman's outlook from our own present one. A chasm, indeed, separates modern Anglicanism from Newman's Anglicanism, a chasm created by the change from an authoritarian to a liberal Christianity, from a Scriptural to a Modernistic form of belief. Newman will not allow even a flicker of rationalism to appear in the interpretation of Scripture, and in his *Essays Critical and Historical* he castigates even the mildest form of it as 'the voice of that scornful, arrogant, and self-trusting spirit, which has been unchained during these latter days, and waxes stronger in power day by day, till it is fain to stamp under foot all the host of heaven'.

That Newman rightly saw what was coming is a mark of his foresight, and we have only to compare any representative Anglican work now with these Parochial sermons to see that they do not belong to the same world of religion. But even Catholics may be somewhat oppressed by the tone and outlook of them. They are so uncompromising as to make us wince, so austere as to shake us out of our perhaps too comfortable habit of thought. We have





INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD, AS IT WAS IN NEWMAN'S TIME

(By courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

'How vividly,' writes Principal Shairp, 'comes back the memory of the aching blank, the awful pause which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased and we knew we should hear it no more. It was as when in some vast cathedral the great bell, tolling solemnly overhead, has suddenly gone still. . . .'

to ask ourselves — if Newman is partly conditioned by his time and place, are we not also creatures of the passing mood of to-day? We now are tolerant, (has not Maritain sketched for us a new age of theocentric broadmindedness?) we live and let live, we give the benefit of the doubt to those outside the faith, we water down some of the fulminations of the Old Testament and turn with relief to all the gentler sayings of Christ: We hold that God will judge us, but we pray and hope that that judgment will be ruled by mercy and love. Now Newman tilts against almost all these pet ideas of ours, and he insists on all the most frightening passages in Scripture. ‘Doubtless’, as he says, ‘many a one there is, who, on hearing doctrines such as I have been insisting on, says in his heart, that religion is thus made gloomy and repulsive. . . .’ But, he replies, ‘it cannot be avoided; we must first fear and be in sorrow, before we can rejoice. The Gospel must be a burden before it comforts and brings us peace’. And in one of the *Sermons of the Day* he tells us that ‘surely we are pretending allegiance to the Church to no purpose, or rather to our own serious injury, if we select her doctrines and precepts at our pleasure; choose this, reject that; take what is beautiful and attractive, shrink from what is stern and painful’. (It may be significant that he goes on to deprecate frequent Communion; ‘We are not fit for them; I am sure, men in general, such as we are, even religious persons, are not fit for them.’)

Not only must religion be hard, but God must be feared as a severe judge, His ways are mysterious, and we must not dare to question or think twice about His commands as recorded. In Scripture there are several examples where persons are punished for hesitating or for seeking further guidance. In many respects Balaam is for Newman the test case. He devotes a sermon to Balaam, and so often does he refer to the prophet or his story as an illustration that he seems to have been haunted by God’s treatment of this prophet. Balaam was in God’s favour, ‘according to His inscrutable purpose’. Furthermore he was a very conscientious man. Being asked to curse Israel he ‘brought the matter before God in prayer. When God refused to let him go to perform this curse he refused all the tempting offers of Balac. Finally God gave him leave to go, bidding him to do exactly what God ordered. This command he carried out strictly. Instead of cursing Israel he blessed it, and when threatened by Balac he continued to bless,

and with the firmest courage to foretell the destruction of Moab and all the enemies of the chosen people. For such behaviour on human standards we should expect God to be pleased with him. But now, strange to say, we learn that at this very time, 'he seems in one sense to be in God's favour', and 'in another and higher to be under His displeasure'. 'God's anger', the Scripture says, 'was kindled because he went' with the princes of Moab, 'and the Angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against him'. Therefore, Newman reflects, we have 'the following remarkable case, that is, remarkable according to our customary judgment of things: a man divinely favoured, visited, influenced, guided, protected, eminently honoured, illuminated — a man possessed of an enlightened sense of duty, and of moral and religious acquirements, educated, high-minded, conscientious, honourable, firm; and yet on the side of God's enemies, personally under God's displeasure, and in the end . . . the direct instrument of Satan, and having his portion with the unbelievers.' How can this be? This was a sore problem to Newman, and it looks as if it affected him as a personal problem, and that in finding an answer to it he found the answer both to a number of kindred problems in Scripture and to his personal relation to God and to His words in Scripture. If this be so his answer will be very revealing and serve to throw a light on his opinions and general outlook and development.

The first lesson which the story teaches us is, according to Newman, that we must not trust our too human judgments. They may be contaminated 'owing to some insensibility, in ourselves or in our age, to certain peculiarities of the Divine law or government . . .' Scripture judges us, and not we Scripture, and what seems offensive in Scripture must be due to something offensive in us. Here is a light; here is the reason why some find the 'doctrine of eternal punishment a difficulty. In like manner the history of the flood, of the call of Abraham, of the plagues of Egypt, of the wandering in the desert, of the judgment of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and a multitude of other occurrences, may be insuperable difficulties, except to certain states and tempers of mind, to which, on the contrary, they will seem quite natural and obvious'. Balaam may have seemed to do enough by our standards, but he is wanting by the divine standard; he is lacking in the proper respect due from a creature to God and his mysteries; he does not bow down before the divine judgment and command. 'We are apt

to act towards God and the things of God as towards a mere system, a law, a name, a religion, a 'principle, not as against a Person, a living, watchful, present, prompt and powerful Eye and Arm.'

The second lesson which follows immediately from the first is that there is a world of difference between human and divine standards. In God's dealings with man we enter into mystery. For men to be 'just, upright, trustworthy' is not sufficient; 'they are . . . what is popularly called moral, without being religious'. In other words, Newman makes a distinction, obviously of great importance to himself, between the moral man and the religious man. This distinction is only too apparent in the striking and formidable statement that 'if Scripture is to be our guide, it is quite plain that the most conscientious, religious, high-principled, honourable men (I use the words in their ordinary, not in their Scripture sense), may be on the side of evil, may be Satan's instruments in cursing if that were possible, and at least in seducing and enfeebling the people of God'.

Now it looks as if we have here a clue to what is in appearance hard and forbidding in Newman's early preaching, and even to his singular outlook and character. Some attribute the austerity of his preaching to his early upbringing; we have to allow also for the spirit of the age. No doubt Newman would not have put this interpretation on the story of Balaam had he not been predisposed to it and found in his interpretation the answer to the difficulties which beset him. It remains likely, however, that the Balaam story brought to a head the tendencies and temptations of his soul, and is, therefore, of great importance in enabling us to understand his essential nature and the grounds of his opinions. How revealing, for instance, is his distinction between the moral and religious sense! Since, he wrote, this distinction, however worded, has come to be accepted more and more. Books have been written about the sense of the 'numinous', critics like Przywara have classed together and analysed the writings of such religious geniuses as St. Augustine, Pascal, Kierkegaard and Newman. The religious man, in Newman's and Przywara's meaning of the word, is one who realizes the majesty of God and is filled with awe at His presence. Before this presence the world dwindles to a half-reality or to nothingness; time is but an image or a shadow; the world is a deceit or corruption, and other persons, like ships that pass in the night.

History is the development of God's purposes and kingdom, and all man's endeavour in knowledge and art and society is, apart from the divine providence, but vanity. Conscience is no longer the admonition of our inner man, but the still voice of the almighty Counsellor. This religious man tends in his first years to see nothing but God's judgments and to contrast the divine holiness with the folly and sinfulness of man. He tends, therefore, to speak and act like an Old Testament prophet, and to find in the Old Testament what is most congenial to his thought. He will be stern and denunciatory, uncompromising and no regarnder of persons, and he will detect human interference, a rationalist blotch, in any attempt to tone down the severity of God's action or judgment.

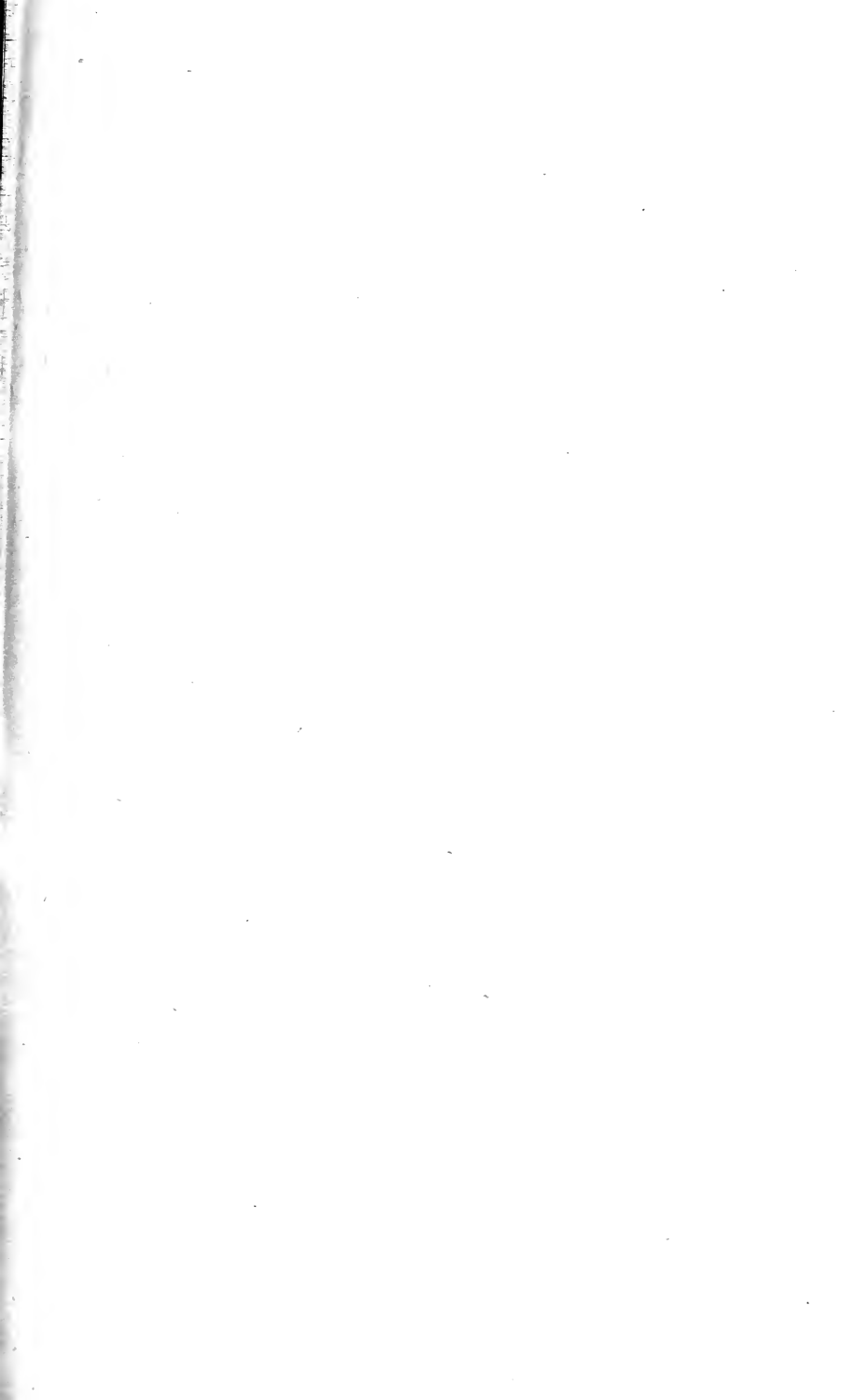
Now in the light of this what might otherwise be stumbling blocks to a reader of *The Parochial and Plain Sermons* can be removed. In a sermon on zeal Newman gives probably a picture of what he would like to be, and the picture is disconcerting: 'Thus a certain fire of zeal, showing itself, not by force and blood, but as really and certainly as if it did — cutting through natural feelings, neglecting self, preferring God's glory to all things, firmly resisting sin, protesting against sinners, and steadily contemplating their punishment, is a duty belonging to all creatures of God, a duty of Christians, in the midst of all that excellent overflowing charity which is the highest Gospel grace, and the fulfilling of the second table of the Law.' This charity he goes on to say later in the same sermon will exhibit itself in the action of the Israelite when he entered Canaan and was told to spare neither old nor young: 'the weak and the infirm were to be no exception in the list of victims whose blood was to be shed.' The massacres of Sihon and Jericho fall under the same virtue of zeal. Moses was the meekest of men, but zeal to carry out God's will made him ruthless. Samuel sent Saul to slay in Amalek; David, though most tender hearted, was unsparing when moved by fiery zeal. When these Old Testament zealots bore such great trials, shall we, asks Newman, 'faint at our far lesser trials?' 'Spared the heavy necessity of piercing with the spear of Phinehas, and of hewing Agag in Gilgal — allowed to take instead of inflicting suffering and to "make a difference" instead of an indiscriminate severity — shall we, like cowards, shrink from bearing our lighter burdens, which our Lord commands and in which He sets us the pattern? Shall we be perversely persuaded by the appearance of amiableness or

kindness in those whom God's word bids us depart from as heretics, or profligate livers, or troublers of the Church? . . . We think we cannot be kind without ceasing to be severe. Who is there that walks through the world, wounding according to the rule of zeal, and scattering balm freely in the fulness of love; smiting as a duty, and healing as a privilege; loving most when he seems sternest, and embracing them most tenderly whom in semblance he treats roughly? What a state we are in, when anyone who rehearses the plain threats of our Lord and His Apostles against sinners, or ventures to defend the anathemas of His Church, is thought unfeeling rather than merciful; when they who separate from the irreligious world are blamed as fanciful and extravagant, and those who confess the truth, as it is in Jesus, are said to be bitter, hot of head, and intemperate.'

One feels that in this sermon the young Newman is putting the screw upon himself as well as upon his congregation. It is the habit of the young prophet to see all in terms of absolutes and to think of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb as a betrayal of principle. The only test — and that is an uncertain one — of 'our being in the number of God's true servants' is self-denial. The lukewarm cannot enter the kingdom of God. Truth will always be unpopular: 'St. Paul has set up his warning against our supposing Truth will ever be heartily accepted'. The human heart is too spoilt to be ready to receive such a message with gladness. 'Nothing then can be more certain, if we go by Scripture, not to speak of experience, than that the present nature of man is evil and not good; that evil things come from it, and not good things.' 'All teaching about duty and obedience, about attaining heaven, and about the office of Christ towards us, is hollow and unsubstantial, which is not built *here*, in the doctrine of our original corruption and helplessness. . . .' Hence our religion must be austere and our teaching harsh. 'Surely we are pretending allegiance to the Church to no purpose, or rather to our own serious injury, if we select her doctrines and precepts at our pleasure; choose this, reject that; take what is beautiful and attractive, shrink from what is stern and painful.' Since then the way of life is narrow, 'the greatest privilege of a Christian is to have nothing to do with wordly politics — to be governed and to submit obediently; and though here again selfishness may creep in, and lead a man to neglect public concerns in which he is called to take his share, yet, after all, such participation

must be regarded as a duty, scarcely as a privilege, as the fulfilment of trusts committed to him for the good of others, not as the enjoyment of rights (as men talk in these days of delusion), not as if political power were in itself a good'. Even in our studies, in science and literature we must beware. 'The love of order and regularity, and that perception of beauty which is most keen in highly-gifted minds, has too often led men astray in their scientific researches.' 'Now the danger of an elegant and polite education is that it separates feeling and acting; it teaches us to think, speak, and be affected aright, without forcing us to practise what is right. I will take an illustration of this, though somewhat a familiar one, from the effect produced upon the mind by reading what is commonly called a romance or novel, which comes under the description of polite literature, of which I am speaking.' The novel may contain many good sentiments and uphold the great truths of religion and give us noble characters. 'But it is all fiction; it does not exist out of a book which contains the beginning and the end of it. *We have nothing to do.* . . . Accordingly, when we have got into the habit of amusing ourselves with these works of fiction we come at length to feel the excitement without the slightest thought or tendency to act upon it. . . .' Many other illustrations could be given of the unbending sternness of Newman's message to the world as a young preacher. He bids us correct our neighbour, avoid the company of heretics and sinners, mistrust all standards which do not come out of the Bible. He has no hope for his country unless it returns to the severities of the Old Testament outlook. 'I wish I saw any prospect of this element of zeal and holy sternness springing up among us, to temper and give character to the languid, unmeaning benevolence which we misname Christian love. I have no hope of my country till I see it. Many schools of Religion and Ethics are to be found among us, and they all profess to magnify, in one shape or another, what they consider the principle of love; but what they lack is, a firm maintenance of that characteristic of the Divine Nature, which, in accommodation to our infirmity, is named by St. John and his brethren, the wrath of God.'

I have so far given some of the less attractive aspects of the young spirit of Newman. It must be remembered, however, how much this religious sense adds to the power and insight of his teaching. It enabled him to dwell ever in the sight of God and to





VIEW OF ST. MARY'S AS IT WAS IN NEWMAN'S TIME. (By courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

see the world and himself from a new standpoint. In the following passage this habit of his is strikingly described: 'Do you, then, habitually thus unlock your heart and subject your thoughts to, Almighty God? Are you living in this conviction of His Presence, and have you this special witness that that Presence is really set up within you unto your salvation, viz. that you live in the sense of it? Do you believe, and act on the belief, that His light penetrates and shines through your heart, as the sun's beams through a room? . . . In all circumstances, of joy or sorrow, hope or fear, let us aim at having Him in our inmost heart; let us have no secret apart from Him. Let us acknowledge Him as enthroned within us at the very springs of thought and affection. Let us submit ourselves to His guidance and sovereign direction; let us come to Him that He may forgive us, cleanse us, change us, guide us, and save us.' Those who in the repute of the world are good and high-minded do not fully admit this Presence. 'They do not think of judgment as sure to come one day or another. They have no fears for the future, because they have no prospect about the future. They are contented with the present, and with themselves, because they live in what is visible and tangible, and do not measure themselves by what is unseen and spiritual.' To Newman the invisible is always more real than the visible. It is the material world around us which seems to be an illusion. God and the self within, they and the invisible individual souls of those who pass us in the street, they alone count. 'Earth must fade away from our eyes, and we must anticipate that great and solemn truth, which we shall not fully understand until we stand before God in judgment, that to us there are but two beings in the whole world, God and ourselves. Man is at once thrown out of himself, by the very Voice which speaks within him; and while he rules his heart and conduct by his inward sense of right and wrong, not by the maxims of the external world, still that inward sense does not allow him to rest in itself, but sends him forth again from home to seek abroad for Him who had put His Word in him. He looks forth into the world to seek Him who is not of the world, to find behind the shadows and deceits of this shifting scene of time and sense, Him whose Word is eternal and whose Presence is spiritual.'

In these passages Newman is speaking from his very soul. They have an accent which is peculiarly his own, and they are of the greatest help to understand the processes and development of his

thought, even in his Catholic days. He never went back on what he described as conscience and the presence of God. This always meant so much more to him than reason and in some of the sermons he is at times impatient of the workings of natural reason. In his remarkable analysis of the relation of faith and reason, for instance, as given in *Discussions and Arguments*, he is relying all the while on this more intimate Knowledge of which St. Paul writes. So too he refers constantly to the judgments of God. The true Christian 'enthrones the Son of God in his conscience, refers to Him as a sovereign authority, and uses no reasoning with Him. He does not reason, but he says, "Thou, God, seest me". He feels that God is too near him to allow of argument, self-defence, excuse, or objection. He appeals in matters of duty, not to his own reason, but to God Himself, whom with the eyes of faith he sees, and whom he makes the Judge; not to any fancied fitness, or any preconceived notion, or any abstract principle or any tangible experience'. 'There is a voice within us, which assures us that there is something higher than earth. We cannot analyse, define, contemplate what it is that whispers to us. It has no shape or material form. There is that in our hearts which prompts us to religion, and which condemns and chastises sin. And this yearning of our nature is met and sustained, it finds an object to rest upon, when it hears of the existence of an All-powerful, All-gracious Creator.'

To one who, like Newman, can withdraw behind the scene of the visible and experience the presence of the All-powerful and the All-gracious, the world must appear all awry and his own creatureliness defective and sinful. The Power of God's presence evokes awe, as the grace and holiness of Christ drew from St. Peter the spontaneous cry: 'Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord.' Naturally, then the language of Newman suggests the shadowy and transitory character of human life and the dire judgment of God upon it. In the first fervour of a young prophet inspired with these thoughts, we might expect a severity, a severity due to the sharp contrast between the absolute and the relative, the All Holy and the fickle will of man. Time was to make Newman relent a little, and the Catholic faith, in making him one with the family of Christ, in introducing him to Our Lady and the company of Saints, gave him a new gentleness and serenity. His mind, however, remains fundamentally and recognizably the same, and in many ways this was a blessing. We may find the attitude of Newman at times for-

bidding; his hard sayings perhaps abound too much. But nevertheless the intense religiousness of his outlook gave him an insight into the human heart and even sharpened his reasoning powers. There is a passage in *The Parochial and Plain Sermons* which shows excellently well how he approached the consideration of his neighbour. Human beings were part of the mystery, they were alive like himself; they were creatures wrapped in their own mysterious singleness and each the mark of divine providence. We do not understand, he says, the distinct individuality of the human soul. 'We class men in masses, as we might connect the stones of a building.' 'And when one dies and that one dies, we forget that it is the passage of separate immortal beings into an unseen state. . . .' 'Every being in that great concourse (of a populous town) is his own centre and all things about him are but shades, but a "vain shadow" in which he "walketh and disquieteth himself in vain". He has his own hopes and fears, desires, judgments, and aims; he is everything to himself, and no one else is really anything. He has a depth within him unfathomable, an infinite abyss of existence; and the scene in which he bears part for the moment is but a gleam of sunshine upon its surface.'

With such a regard for the individual as individual moving to his eternal destiny it is not surprising to find that Newman looked behind the processes of logic for the grounds of faith and the assent to it. His lifelong interests are defined by these early convictions and insights, and we can observe more than a beginning of an answer to the great questions he put to himself formally later and answered in *The Grammar of Assent*, the *Essay on Development* and *The Idea of a University*. As all know, there is a sermon delivered in 1843 before the University of Oxford which anticipates the book on Development. The book was concerned with a specific problem. He had to decide which was the Church in Christendom which was one in substance with that founded by Jesus Christ. The Sermon on the same subject in 1843 springs from his interest in the problem of faith and reason. How, he asks himself, can the human expression of the mystery of God's word be adequate? How can what is so deficient suffice to convey the power and the glory of divine truth? The answer he gives is that the poverty of expression is supplied by the multiplying out of what is superhumanly rich into a series and system of propositions, dogmas which complete each other in time and in their unison represent

God's word. In *The Grammar of Assent*, again, he is concerned to show how we are justified in assenting to a supernatural truth whose evidence reaches far beyond anything that can be conveyed by mere human evidence.

Lastly in a Sermon on the Danger of Accomplishments we see adumbrated what later would appear in the Idea of a University. The sermon shows both the narrowness of his early fervour and that religious cast of mind of which I have spoken. Quotation from it, therefore, will serve to sum up the spirit of the *Parochial and Plain Sermons*. He begins by saying that St. Luke had enjoyed a liberal education. Some are inclined to think that 'accomplishments' whether in literature or the arts are inconsistent with a 'deep and practical seriousness of mind'. The fact that both St. Luke and St. Paul took pleasure in their accomplishments proves that this cannot be true. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that they do have a tendency to make us trifling and unmanly, and that there is a danger in an elegant and polite education lest it separate feeling and acting. This is especially true of the art of composing. It is difficult not to be artificial and insincere when we are for ever attending to the fitness and propriety of words. For this reason, 'we must avoid giving too much time to lighter occupations: and next we must never allow ourselves to read works of fiction or poetry, or to interest ourselves in the fine arts for the mere sake of the things themselves: but keep in mind that we are Christians and accountable beings, who have fixed principles of right and wrong, by which all things must be tried, and have religious habits to be matured within them, towards which all things are to be made subservient.' Newman goes on in this vein, saying that he does not wish to be severe, but he cannot think well of those who take up the profession of stage-players or orators, still less can he respect those who exhibit their spiritual state and take part in what they term spiritual conversations. After all what would a prophet say? The truth is that Newman was at this time only struggling towards the solution of the problem of religion and learning which he was to find in later years and state so well in one of his greatest works, *The Idea of a University*. Like the Church, he remained in soul the same, but he took time to develop.

NEWMAN AND FABER AT OXFORD

BY THE REV. FR. V. BAKER (CONG. ORAT. LOND.)

IT is difficult at this distance of time to imagine the extraordinary position which John Henry Newman filled in the thirties of the last century. 'The Movement', says Principal Shairp, 'extended its influence far beyond the circle of those who directly adopted its views. There was not a reading man who was not more or less directly influenced by it . . . Where was the centre and soul from which so mighty a power emanated? It lay and for some years had lain in one man, a man in many ways the most remarkable the English Church has possessed in any century — John Henry Newman. The influence he had gained, without apparently setting himself to seek it, was something altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him, till now it was almost as though some Ambrose or Augustine of older ages had reappeared.

'In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper "There's Newman"', as with head thrust forward and gaze fixed as though at some inward vision seen only by himself, with swift noiseless step he glided by. Awe fell on them almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed.'

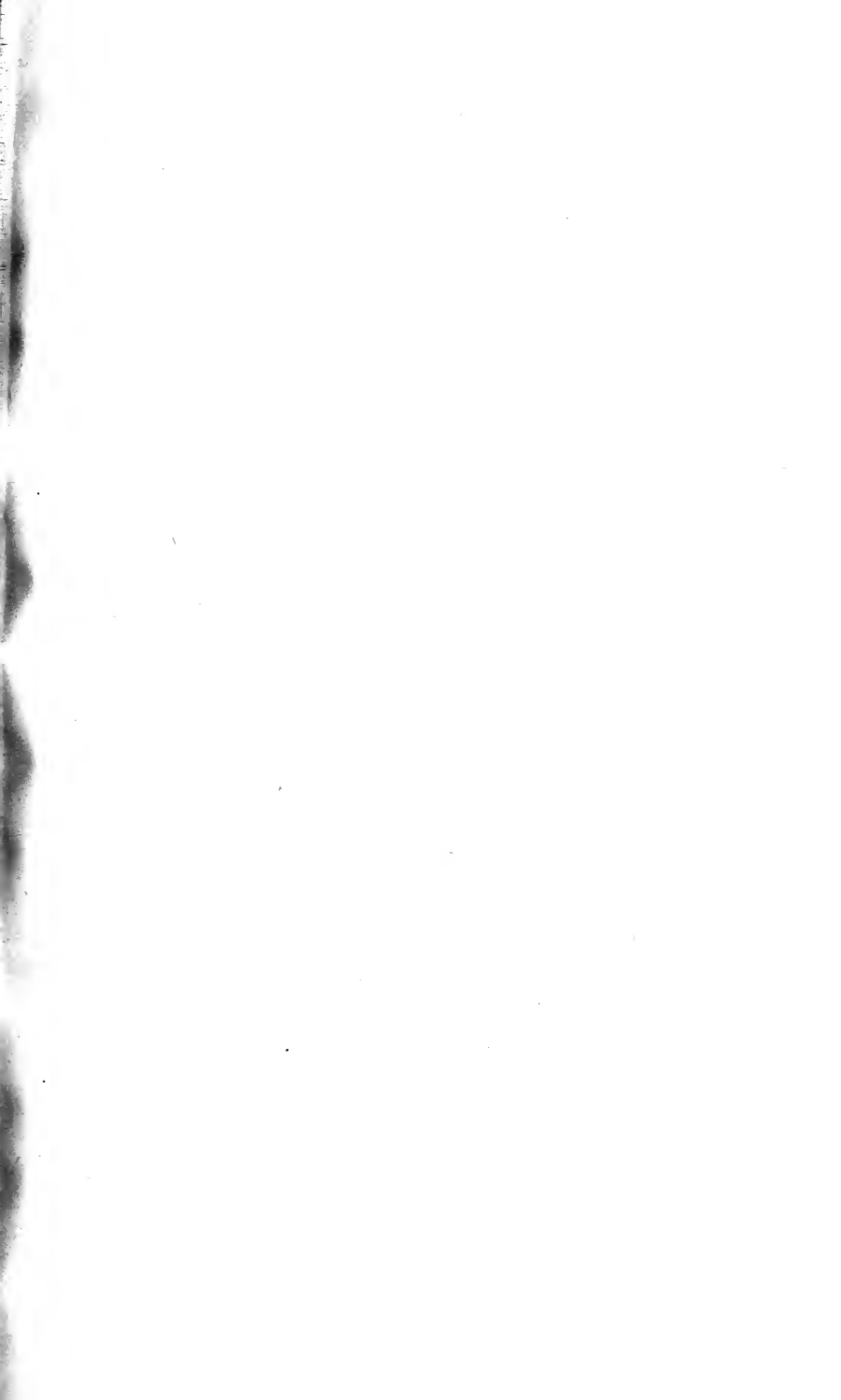
'When I entered at Oxford', writes Mr. J. A. Froude, 'Newman was beginning to become famous. The responsible authorities were watching him with anxiety; clever men were looking with interest and curiosity on the apparition among them of one of those persons of indisputable genius who was likely to make a mark upon his time. I met him now and then in private; I attended his church and heard him preach Sunday after Sunday. Greatly as his poetry had struck me, he was himself all that the poetry was and something far beyond. I had never seen so impressive a person. We came to regard him with the affections of pupils for an idolized master. For hundreds of young men *Credo in Newmanum* was the genuine symbol of faith.'

His merely intellectual reputation had stood very high for some fifteen years (writes Mr. Wilfrid Ward). But with the birth of the 'Movement' the character of a prophet and leader of men was added. 'The influence of his singular combination of genius and devotion', said Dean Lake, 'has had no parallel before or since.' 'Credo in Newmanum' was the creed which W. G. Ward first formulated and it became general.

Frederick William Faber became an undergraduate of Balliol College in the Lent Term of 1833. It was in the July of this same year that Keble preached the Assize Sermon on 'National Apostasy', which Newman always looked upon as the beginning of the 'Movement'.

Faber became for a time an enthusiastic 'Newmanite' and during the first year of his undergraduate life frequently attended Newman's sermons in St. Mary's. He must have been in the Newman 'set' also, for Dean Stanley describes his first meeting with W. G. Ward in the words: 'last night a large moon-faced man — Ward of Lincoln, late of Christ Church — rushed into Faber's rooms'. The 'late of Christ Church' dates this precisely, for it was in 1833 that Ward was elected to a scholarship at Lincoln College. Even Ward would not have 'rushed' into somebody's rooms, unless he had known them fairly well, and Ward was, of course, intimate with Newman.

And yet, strange to say, Faber never made the great man's acquaintance until after his undergraduate days were over. It is true that after his first year at Oxford he reacted strongly towards the Calvinism of his earlier years, and his distrust of Newman and his tendencies became acute during 1834, at which date he went as a scholar to 'Univ'. But this reaction did not last very long and in 1836 he had reverted to 'Newmania', as someone called it. In 1837 Faber was elected a Fellow of University College and also gained the Johnson Divinity Scholarship; for this last one of the examiners was actually J.H.N. himself. And yet it was not until a later date, when the *Library of the Fathers* was to be started and Faber was invited to contribute a translation of the works of St. Optatus of Milevis, that at last he made the acquaintance of one who was to be his guide, director and friend for so many years. St. Optatus would hardly be discouraging for someone with Romanizing propensities, and it was in 1843, when he was in Rome, that Faber had an audience with the Pope (Gregory XVI), who seems to have been very much *au fait* with matters in England. 'He spoke of Dr. Pusey's suspension for defending the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist with disgust and said to me, "You must not mislead yourself in wishing for unity, yet waiting for your Church to move. Think of the salvation of your own soul"'. He laid his hands on my head and said "May the grace of God correspond to our good wishes and deliver you from the nets of Angli-





NEWMAN IN 1840. *By Richmond*

canism and bring you to the true Holy Church''.' Faber was nearly received into the Church while he was at Rome; twice, he says, he took his hat to go the English College to abjure. From Bologna he wrote a letter which seemed to contain unanswerable arguments against Anglicanism. It was evidently in connection with this that Newman wrote to him on September 2nd: 'I have seen your letter to your brother from Bologna, and while I am surprised at your very kind language about me, I could not help being much pleased. I assure you, my dear Faber, that I go very far with you in the matter of which your letter treats, much further than I like. I feel very strongly, however, that a very great experiment is going on in our Church. Let us see it out. Is it not the ordinary way of Providence that men should not make great changes by themselves, or on private judgment, but should change with the body in which they find themselves, or at least in company? I have sometimes thought that, were I tempted to go to Rome, I should for three years pray and get my friends to pray, that I might die rather than go, if going were wrong.'

Faber replied from Berne, September 30th, 1843: 'It is a great comfort to me to see you recommending delay, even in my state of mind. And it is on this point that I have suffered most since I left Rome. Anyhow, I will wait and it is a great joy to me to know that I have your prayers meanwhile. I hope the end of it all with all of us will be the being led into all truth.'

Faber had clearly put himself under the direction of Newman at this time, for it was in October of 1843 that Newman forbade him to invoke the Saints directly. In August 1844 we find the former writing: 'I seem to grow more Roman daily and almost to write from out the bosom of the Roman Church instead of from where I am. I sometimes get a glimpse of a state of mind which would view my position as a parish priest as that of a man telling a lie to people. I have written to you to ask you to remove your prohibition against invoking our Blessed Lady, the Angels and Saints.' And in November he writes again: 'I have a request to make which I cannot any longer refrain from making, but I shall submit at once to *No*, if you will say it. I want you to revoke your prohibition, laid on me last October year (i.e. 1843) of invoking Our Blessed Lady, the Saints and Angels. *Oret* has become almost intolerable. However, if you still really think I had better refrain, of course I will do so still.'

Newman answered on Advent Sunday (December 1st): 'I find it very difficult to answer you. I can understand that *Oret* may be intolerably cold. It does not strike me that you infringed your rule by using the Confiteor — but now as to direct and habitual invocations. Really I have a great repugnance at mixing religions or worships together. A system is a whole; one cannot tell the effect of one part disjointed from the rest. Observances which may be very right in Saints, or in a Church which creates Saints, in a communion in which the aids of grace are such and such, may be dangerous in a communion which has them not. I do not like decanting Rome into England; the bottles may break. What is natural in Saints and in a saintly system becomes a mere form in others. Again, I am not sure there is not danger of presumption in taking what belongs to another system at will. Private judgment comes in and eclecticism. I am not satisfied that our Church has not a claim in such observances on the obedience of her members to her directions. I am far too much perplexed myself in various ways to feel it pleasant to give advice at all. . . . Ward has been had up and Romanizing propositions submitted to him to deny.'

This was the beginning of the end. *The Ideal of a Christian Church* was condemned in Convocation in the next February and Ward deprived of his degrees. But before this Faber had replied to Newman's letter on December 12th, 1844: 'I hope I am now quite content to wait patiently where I am. . . . I only wish to be where God wills me to be. But He may speak and I not hear; He may have spoken at Rome; what they said about *finalis gratia* there sometimes runs through me like cold steel. The upshot is that I must not decide for myself, but be patient till the way is mercifully cleared for us.'

Vain hopes! Corporate reunion was no more possible then than it is now. Each individual person has to make his own individual submission. So was it then. In September Ward was received; Dalgairns three weeks later; St. John at the beginning of October; and on the 9th Newman himself with Stanton and Bowles.

The following extracts from the recollections of Thomas Godwin, Faber's gardener at Elton, give an account of events from an unusual angle. 'I well remember', he writes, 'how upset Mr. Faber was when Mr. Ward was stripped of his gown. We drove to Oxford to vote for him; but Mr. Ward lost the day, and this upset Mr. Faber so much that he was taken seriously ill at Oxford.'

‘One incident of my first interview remains in my mind. Mr. Faber noticed that I was looking at a picture over the mantelpiece. “You seem taken up with that engraving”, he said. “Yes, sir, I suppose it is some eminent man?” “Yes”, he replied, “and he is still in the prime of life; it is the Reverend Mr. Newman, who is living at Littlemore, near Oxford. He taught me all I know that is good and is the greatest scholar and divine since St. Augustine” . . . Everything was going on well at Elton and Mr. Faber was full of schemes. But one morning in October, while Mr. J. B. Morris was staying in the Rectory, I was in the garden just after breakfast, when Mr. Faber came out with a letter in his hand. He seemed very much upset. “This is from the man to whom I owe all under God, Mr. Newman, to whom we all look for guidance.” He then read it to me: “My dear Faber, I write to tell you that I have been received into the one true Church by Father Dominic, of the Order of Passionists. Yours affectionately, J. H. Newman.” He seemed dreadfully cast down and Mr. Morris was crying and talking of St. John and Dalgairns having gone over too.’

‘This news upset us all very much; from that time he seemed changed. Before, he had been full of hopes and plans for the parish, but now he seemed depressed. He told me that he had written to Newman telling him all about his feelings and of all the good that was being done at Elton and questioning whether it would be justifiable to leave the work that seemed to be blessed by God. His reply from Newman was: “You know that it is the Catholic truths, drawn from the lives of the Saints, which account for this, and you would be still more blessed in the fold of Christ”.’

Letters passed almost daily between Newman and Faber — and the following letter from the latter explains itself. ‘I am so, so happy, and at peace in a way I have never been before: at present I am almost engrossed by the sensible enjoyment of the peace to which I have been for so long a stranger.’

Apart from the relations between two great and good men, it is interesting to see how history repeats itself: how many ‘extreme’ men have been forbidden to invoke the Saints? how many have been told to ‘wait’? how many kept back by the thought of the good work which they were doing?

And how many, after the unavailing struggle against God’s grace, have found that peace which is past understanding ‘in the fold of Christ’?

IRELAND'S DEBT TO NEWMAN

BY THE REV. FR. F. MCGRATH, S.J.

ON the south side of St. Stephen's Green in Dublin, looking on to one of the pleasantest parks of the city, stands a handsome Georgian mansion, once the residence of that fantastic eighteenth century figure, Richard 'Buck' Whaley. It was from here that Whaley set out, mounted on his favourite hunter, to return some months later having won the wager he had made to ride to Jerusalem, play a game of handball against the walls of the city, and ride home to Dublin, thus earning his sobriquet of 'Jerusalem' Whaley. At any time during the years 1854 to 1858, a passer-by might have seen ascending or descending the steps of this house a middle-aged gentlemen in clerical garb, of distinguished bearing and ascetical look. On inquiry, he would have been informed that this was Dr. Newman, the famous Tractarian convert, and that Buck Whaley's house had suffered a remarkable metamorphosis, being now the Catholic University of Ireland, of which Dr. Newman was Rector.

The events which led up to his appointment were briefly these. In 1845 Peel had brought forward his strangely conceived plan for the solution of the Irish University question. Trinity College was to remain, as it had always been, an essentially Protestant institution, but the vast Catholic majority of the country were to receive their University education in the three Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway, which were to be non-sectarian in the sense of excluding religion completely from their curriculum. The proposal met with general opposition in Ireland. The Young Irelanders, indeed, were prepared to accept it, on the ground that it would promote national unity, but O'Connell, representing the great bulk of the people, denounced it, and adopted from the English Protestant champion, Sir Robert Inglis, the epithet of 'godless education'. The bishops declared the scheme to be 'dangerous to faith and morals.'. They endeavoured to have a series of modifications introduced which would have amounted to a complete reconstruction, but their efforts were fruitless, and the Queen's Colleges were finally condemned by a Rescript from Propaganda in 1847 and by the National Synod of Thurles in 1850. The Rescript furthermore urged the bishops to establish a Catholic University in Ireland on the model of the newly re-established University of

Louvain, and the Synod appointed a committee to carry out the plan. Mainly on the initiative of Dr. Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh and later of Dublin, who was chairman of the committee, Newman was invited to become Rector of the University, and, after a series of delays, was installed in June 1854, holding office until November, 1858.

Newman was, therefore, nominal head of the university for seven years and actual head for four and a half. What did he accomplish and what did he help to accomplish during that time? He began — no mean beginning — by writing a work which most authorities recognize as a classic of the English language. The *Idea of a University* contains the substance of ten lectures which he prepared as a send-off for the Dublin project, the first five only being actually delivered. This work, which Pater cited as the example of a perfect argument, and which Mark Pattison avowed first opened his eyes to the true function of a university, is too well known to require comment. It is, however, well to remark that considerable misunderstanding has arisen from the belief that it is a compendium of Newman's views on university education. It does, indeed, contain a most valuable basic doctrine, namely that all truth is one, and that therefore true education must aim at a certain philosophic comprehensiveness. But to get a complete picture of Newman's mind it is essential, first of all, to study the many other writings which date from his stay in Dublin and which are collected in the *Essays on University Subjects* and the *Rise and Progress of Universities*. Still more is it necessary to know what Newman did when face to face with the practical problem of governing a university. A general is judged more by his actions on the field of battle than by his textbooks on tactics and strategy.

The history of Newman's Rectorship remains yet to be written, and the materials for it are scattered amongst his correspondence, numerous reports, regulations and syllabuses, contemporary pamphlets and periodicals.¹ It is only possible here to sketch the barest outline of it.

¹ For the ordinary reader the following are the only easily accessible sources:

1. *My Campaign in Ireland*. Part I. Catholic University Reports and other papers. Aberdeen, 1896. This volume, edited by Father William Neville, of the Oratory, Birmingham, was printed for private circulation, but is to be found in many libraries. Part II never appeared.

2. *The Catholic University of Ireland*, L. McKenna, S.J. A series of articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. XXXI, 1928.

On May 20th, 1854, Newman read to the bishops assembled in Synod in Dublin a memorandum setting forth his conception of the objects of the university, in accordance with the suggestions of the Holy See. They were: To enable young men of fortune to stand on a level with Protestants of the same class; to provide a professional education for students of law and medicine, and a liberal education for those destined to mercantile and similar pursuits; to develop the talents of youths of the lower classes; to publish philosophical refutations of infidel writings; to create a national Catholic literature; to supply school-books and books of instruction for English-speaking Catholics; to raise the standard of the secondary schools; to give a Catholic tone to society in the great towns; to respond to the growing importance of Ireland as the medium of intercourse between East and West and the centre of English-speaking Catholicism.

Prestige was to be attained by the appointment to professorial chairs of men of outstanding celebrity.

Institutions of practical utility should be founded; a school for useful arts, engineering, mining, agriculture, etc., to develop and apply the material resources of Ireland; an observatory; a school of Irish archaeology for the study of the language, literature, manuscripts, etc., of ancient Ireland, with a special reference to Catholicity; the medical staff of a hospital, etc.

The University should not be contained under one roof; its unity should consist in the unity of Catholic dogma and spirit. For this purpose a University Church should be provided. Students should reside in small groups of about twenty, presided over by a priest and having a community chapel. Under the priest, two or three young graduates should act as tutors.

A number of burses should be provided for the encouragement of talented students of lesser means.

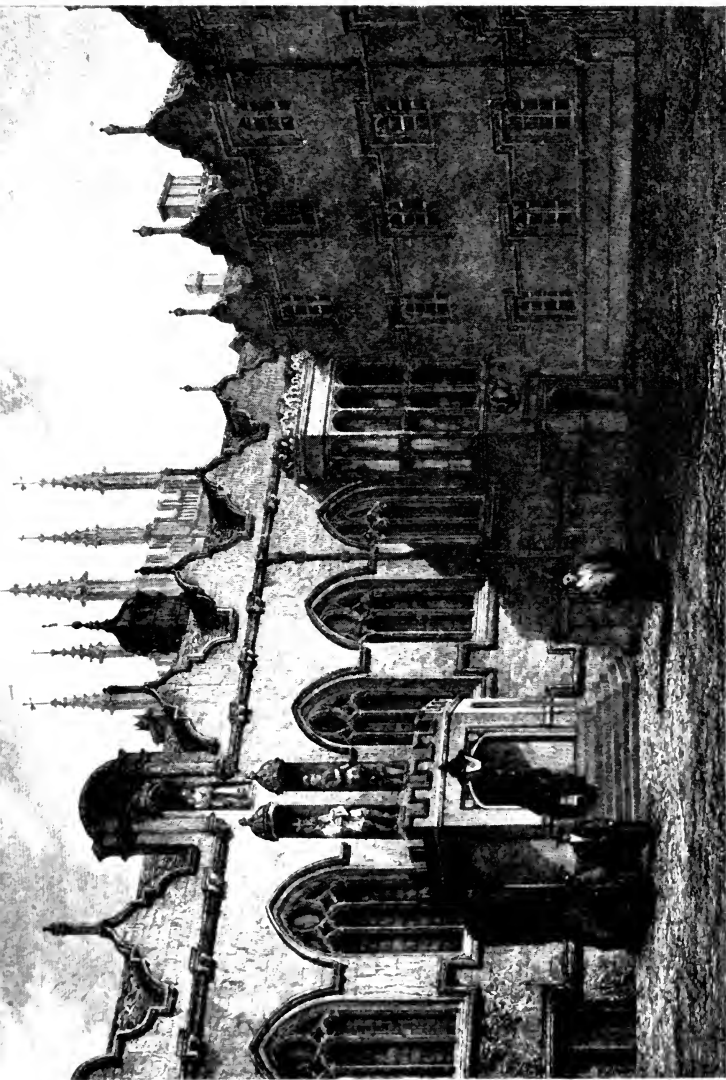
Students should enter at the age of sixteen, and for the first two years study classics, mathematics, logic, ancient history, etc., standing for an examination and initial degree. Many would probably not go further. Those who did would devote themselves to

3. Introduction to *Newman on University Education*, Roger J. McHugh. Dublin, 1944.

4. *Newman, Education and Ireland*, W. F. Stockley (Sands).

5. The chapters on the University (Vols. I, XI and XII) in Wilfrid Ward's *Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman*, lay more stress on the difficulties incurred by Newman than on his constructive work.





ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD: THE FRONT QUADRANGLE AS IT WAS IN 1836. (By courtesy of *National Buildings Record*)

To the left is the entrance to the Hall, crowned by the statues of Our Lady (the Patron Saint of the College), of King Edward II (the Founder), and of King Charles I (in whose reign the College was rebuilt). On the right is the entrance to the Chapel. On the extreme right is the doorway of the staircase leading to Newman's rooms: these are lit by the three first-floor windows nearest to the corner of the quadrangle. The bay window over the Chapel door formerly contained a small room which Newman used as an oratory.

a course of modern history, political economy, law, metaphysics, etc., leading to a B.A. examination. For those who might remain longer, there would be a three-year course, leading to the degree of M.A. or Doctor in one of the three faculties, Arts (including Letters and Science), Medicine and Law, this degree being the qualification for professorships.

In this memorandum, the provisions of which were amplified in many later documents, will be detected a remarkable breadth of view, a judicious balance of the cultural and practical ends of education, and an awareness of almost all the functions of a university generally recognized to-day. The government of the University is outlined in a scheme of Rules and Regulations submitted by the Rector to the Rectorial Council in 1856. Two features call for comment. First, the chief executive power was concentrated in the person of the Rector, who presided over both the Rectorial Council and the Senate. In this, it has been remarked, Newman anticipated modern developments, especially in America. Second, the position of the professors was safeguarded by the power given them to elect their own deans of faculties, who were automatically members of the Rectorial Council. Newman, whilst adopting the collegiate and tutorial systems, the advantages of which he had experienced at first hand in Oxford, yet had in mind the monopoly of government by the heads of colleges and the usurpation of the teaching function by tutors which had been among the chief causes of the decline of Oxford in the eighteenth century.

It may be remarked in passing that, in an earlier memorandum (November 1851), Newman proposed, at least at the start, that the professors should also act as tutors, and this proposal was, to a certain extent, carried out. It is difficult, however, to see how such a system could have been continued if the number of students had ever increased considerably, and it may be acknowledged that Newman left unsolved a problem that is still one of the root-problems of the modern university, that of giving individual attention to a very large body of students without relegating the professor to a second place, and without an enormous expenditure of tutorial man-power.

In the brief four and a half years for which he held office, Newman saw many features of his plan realized. Three Collegiate Houses were established, St. Patrick's (86 St. Stephen's Green),

St. Mary's (6 Harcourt Street), presided over by Newman himself, and St. Lawrence's (16 Harcourt Street). Twenty-six professors and lecturers were appointed, of whom all were laymen except the members of the theological faculty and one other. The University Church, designed by John Hungerford Pollen, was completed, and was the centre of the religious life of the University. The medical school was opened in Cecilia Street, and by the fourth year had 110 students. The chemical laboratory was set up at great expense in 1856, and elaborate equipment for the physics laboratory bought in Paris. Two journals were started, the *University Gazette*, intended to be a record of university proceedings, and the *Atlantis*, a learned periodical. General lectures for the public were organized, thirty being given in 1858-59. The Chair of Irish history and archaeology was entrusted to the able Celtic scholar Eugene O'Curry, and Newman had a special fount of type cast to enable his lectures to be published. A library was formed, including 5,000 volumes on medical and physical science purchased from Dr. von Ringseis, formerly Rector of the University of Munich. Steps were taken to affiliate secondary schools to the University, though this plan, including the granting of burses, was not fully adopted until after Newman's departure. Newman's practical and democratic sense was seen in the establishment of evening classes for young men in business, which could lead to the obtaining of degrees. Debating and literary societies were formed for the undergraduates.

In spite of all this well-directed energy, the University, as is known, was a failure. Not, indeed, as is sometimes vaguely assumed, that it collapsed utterly on Newman's departure in 1858. Under his successor, Dr. Woodlock, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, it lasted for some twenty years more — until the establishment of the Royal University in 1879 — and indeed seemed in 1863 to have reasonable hopes of success. In that year there were 91 students in Arts and Science, 108 in Medicine, 100 in the evening classes, and matriculations in the affiliated schools had risen to 376. A fourth Collegiate House, Corpus Christi (76 St. Stephen's Green) had been added, and two secondary schools had been founded, at Ennis and Waterford, to act as feeders for the University.

But the scales were heavily weighted against the scheme from the start. One of the root causes of failure was the impossibility of obtaining a charter from the government and the consequent non-recognition of the university degrees. This is demonstrated

by the continued success, right up to 1879, of the Medical School, whose degrees were accepted in the then constitution of the medical profession. The absence of a charter meant also a crippling limitation of funds, which had to be provided by parochial subscription in a country impoverished by the recent famine.

The second most fundamental cause of failure was the inadequate supply of students. Catholics of the wealthy or landed class were few, and their support only half-hearted. Recent research has shown that amongst the poorer classes in Ireland the tradition of learning had been preserved to a remarkable extent by the so-called 'classical schools'. But to pave the way for their pupils to the University would have required far more liberal endowments than the few bursas which the Catholic University could afford. The great weakness was the failure of the middle-class and the secondary schools to realize the value of university training. This realization came in due time, as also a great efflorescence of secondary education in the second half of the century, but it was too late to save the University.

A third cause, which operated chiefly in Newman's time, was the conception of the University as being not merely for Irish Catholics, but for Catholics from England and the English-speaking world. This proposal which, be it noted, came primarily not from Newman but from Dr. Cullen, and received the approbation of the Holy See, was actuated by the praiseworthy motive of making the University a *Studium Generale* in the traditional sense, an intellectual centre with world-wide connections. It had, however, within it the seeds of innumerable complications. The English hierarchy and laity gave it practically no support, the Irish bishops found that it created problems of ecclesiastical control, and it was in opposition to the rising tide of Irish national feeling. Contrary to common assumptions, both Newman and the Irish clergy and laity exerted generous efforts to make the plan work. Newman showed a wise moderation in limiting the number of English appointments. Of his original list of twenty-three professors, only five were English. The personal reception of Newman in Ireland was enthusiastic. During his first protracted visit he wrote to his friend Johnson, 'The Observer', 'I am being killed with kindness. *Words cannot express* the hearty exuberant affection with which all men high and low, the priests and the multitude in the streets embrace me'. That Newman's relations with the

Irish professors were cordial, even affectionate, is apparent from a large body of documentary evidence, some published in *My Campaign in Ireland*. That he had firm friends amongst the Irish bishops, notably Dr. Moriarty of Kerry, Dr. Leahy of Cashel and Dr. Dixon of Armagh, is clear both from Newman's own testimony and from the series of letters written by a large number of them endeavouring to persuade him not to resign, whilst his lifelong friendship with Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth, is commemorated in the *Apologia*. It may also be noted that his English professors settled down and worked fruitfully in Dublin until the end of their lives. But the conception of the University as being for the English-speaking world was soon tacitly abandoned, and Newman acknowledged that this deprived the work of one of its main attractions for him.

In the history of Newman's stay in Dublin the disagreements between him and Dr. Cullen played a considerable part. That Dr. Cullen was autocratic, that he had a narrower idea of the nature of a university than Newman, and that he dealt tactlessly and at times even discourteously with Newman cannot be denied. But this undoubtedly contributory cause of failure has received undue emphasis from the prominence given to it in most of the standard biographies, without a corresponding stress on the more fundamental considerations. Newman himself generously acknowledged that Dr. Cullen had his own difficulties, notably the differences in many fields between himself and Dr. MacHale, the Archbishop of Tuam, and that his procrastinating methods were due rather to his own embarrassment than to personal unfriendliness. In later years Newman was to testify that he had ever had 'the truest reverence for the good Cardinal Cullen' and that the Cardinal's intervention had availed much with the Holy See on his behalf at the difficult period of the Vatican Council. It must also be recollected that Newman had always looked upon his work in Dublin as temporary, and that his dual position as Superior in Birmingham and Rector of the University in Dublin was in itself unsatisfactory, and was the cause of great physical strain. If all the other difficulties had been absent, it would seem likely that Newman would have been satisfied with the not inconsiderable degree of freedom which he had to carry out his plans.

Though Newman's work was an apparent failure, it had, in the long run, momentous results. The writings for which it furnished

the occasion exercise an ever-growing influence on educational thought. The University in being gave to the Irish people an ideal of Catholic higher education hitherto unknown to them; it provided a visible rallying-point for their efforts to secure a university acceptable to the vast majority of the nation, and it gave a character of greatness to the history of their struggle for justice which, though dimmed by the passage of years, is not effaced.

Time has dealt kindly with the material monuments of Newman's Irish venture. His church, one of the most beautiful in the country, is used to-day for the religious functions of University College, Dublin, one of the three constituent colleges of the National University, and is still on occasion crowded with the professors and academic youth for whom he meant it to 'symbolize the great principle of the University, the indissoluble union of philosophy with religion'. Whaley's mansion, recently skilfully restored and probably one of the finest specimens of Georgian architecture in existence, is the centre of the undergraduates' representative council, and provides a fit setting for the social life of some three thousand of those young men and — what Newman hardly foresaw — young women — for whom he hoped that the University would 'inspire affection while she whispers truth'. And in his church a speaking marble effigy immortalizes the great cardinal who dreamed of his University as being one day 'a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, a minister of the faith, an Alma Mater of the rising generation'.

NEWMAN'S CHURCH AND OTHER BUILDINGS AT LITTLEMORE

BY JOHN ROTHENSTEIN

THERE must, I think, be something in our nature that causes us to defer doing certain things which we believe will give us pleasure, an unconscious preference, perhaps, for a cherished ideal as against reality, with all its attendant risks of disappointment. Whether it was some such obscure reluctance, or simply the plain disinclination for effort of any kind by which I am more palpably afflicted, which allowed me to remain for a year and a half in the neighbourhood of Littlemore without visiting a place that had meant much to me ever since my schooldays, I cannot say, but from whatever cause I was content to do no more than gaze (albeit often and with absorbed interest) from my garden on the heights of Garsington across the valley at the remote disorderly aggregation of houses on the fringe of Oxford which I knew to be Littlemore. But it was not until our dog had been absent three days from home and at last reported in temporary residence (incidental to courtship) at the Littlemore Laundry that I at last visited the place. As I walked from the 'dead sea' of shattered airplanes at Cowley along the straight road which leads to Littlemore, I was watchful for objects which Newman might have seen, but the outskirts of the village were manifestly much altered, and there is little upon which, were he to return, he would be likely to contemplate without misgiving. To the left lies a sewage farm (he was ever impatient of undue emphasis upon sanitation), to the right, a dog-racing track, and, beyond this, a small airfield, which would doubtless move him to melancholy meditation. The rows of red-brick villas, placed according to some building speculator's whim, would distress his fastidious eye, less by their sheer ugliness than by the features they exhibit of a society which has abandoned its close-knit hierarchic mould in favour of a shapeless equalitarianism. The centre of Littlemore, however, he would find familiar.

Newman was connected with all three of Littlemore's historic buildings. With the most ancient, the Mynchery, the connection was one of sentiment alone. This place is a ruined Benedictine convent, or place of Mynchons, an early English word for nuns.





EXTERIOR OF NEWMAN'S CHURCH AT LITTLEMORE

Gregory, Dean of St. Paul's, speaking of Newman's farewell sermon at Littlemore, writes: 'Until that day I had never realized the full meaning of the words "He lifted up his voice and wept"'. But then there was not a dry eye in the church, excepting those of the preacher. Dr. Pusey, Morris of Exeter (afterwards a pervert [*sic*] to Rome) and some others sobbed aloud, and the sound of their weeping resounded through the Church. After the sermon Newman descended from the pulpit, took off his hood, and threw it over the rails, and it was felt by those present that this was to mark that he had ceased to be a teacher in the Church of England.'

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When Newman built his own church, his love of continuity prompted him to dedicate it to St. Mary and St. Nicholas, the patron saints of the Mynchons. The foundation whose ruins so moved Newman showed symptoms early in its history, of dissolution, in both a spiritual and a material sense, for it was reported in 1445 to the Bishop's Visitor that the nuns were afraid to sleep in their dormitory lest it should fall (such was its dilapidation) during the night, while seventy-two years later the Prioress reported to his successor that some of the nuns, in defiance of her, romped with boys in the cloisters. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that the foundation was suppressed by a Papal Bull in 1525, when its revenues were granted to Cardinal Wolsey towards the building of his great college at Oxford.

With the parish church Newman was more tangibly connected. It is frequently assumed that he was its architect; it is beyond dispute that he called it into existence, but about the precise origin of its design there is a singular conflict of evidence.

According to the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, at a meeting held at Littlemore on Saturday, October 5th, 1879, 'Mr. J. H. Parker gave an account of the importance which was attached to the building of the church: it was one of the first fruits of their labour, and was originally built in exact imitation of the thirteenth-century chancel of a church at Bangor; instead of a nave being added to this, a small chancel was afterwards built to the east, and thus the original symmetry has been destroyed. . . .' John Henry Parker was the first Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum; he was closely associated, as publisher, with several of the leading figures of the Oxford Movement, and, while he was sometimes led by the strength of his Gothic prejudices into an impatient and arbitrary treatment of facts, his knowledge of Gothic architecture was extensive and his interest in local manifestations of it extreme; the presumption that his account of the origin of Littlemore church was correct is, therefore, a strong one. But another and entirely contradictory account is given in the *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* of Newman's brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Mozley, which were published in 1882, three years after the delivery of Parker's lecture, to which they make no reference. Mozley tells us that Newman's own ideas of a village church were 'simple, almost utilitarian' and observes that he had little part in

the great ecclesiological and ritual revival: 'all he wanted at Littlemore was capacity and moderate cost. He consulted me', continues Mozley, '... a happy thought occurred to me. My Northamptonshire church (at Moreton Pinkney) had a simple Early English chancel with lancet windows ... a cousin of mine, an amateur in water colours, had made a beautiful picture of the interior. Taking drawings of this, adapting them and enlarging the scale, I produced something like a design, which was at once approved and handed to an Oxford architect to put in working form. The material was to be rough stone, dug on the spot, and the windows in Headington stone. There was to be no chancel, or vestry, or tower, or porch. The work became an object of much interest, and long before it was completed, it was evident that much more might have been done; but one of Newman's rules was to owe no man anything, not even on a church account.

'As soon as the building showed what it was likely to be, it was perceived that a mistake had been committed in supposing that a design good on a small scale would be equally good on a much larger one'. 'However', he adds, 'it became the model of many churches and chapels, and Pugin himself, after expressing high approval of it, reproduced it in the Norman style next year at Reading'.

The original church (the windows and doors, Mozley elsewhere¹ states were taken from those in St. Giles' Church, Oxford) has since been added to, a tower and a chancel were built in 1848, but the present-day visitor can readily visualize the place as it must have looked in its early days, and for myself, I share Pugin's admiration rather than the misgivings of which Mozley—an exceptionally diffident man—makes mention.

Mozley's *Reminiscences* are not free from inaccuracies; he himself, indeed, has little faith in the memories of others and no illusions about his own, yet what he says about Littlemore church is so detailed, so probable and so circumstantial that it is difficult not to believe it. A visit to Moreton Pinkney and to Bangor would no doubt lead to an easy solution of the question, but that there should be any doubt about the origin of the design of a church so historic in its associations, and of such special interest as one of the earliest architectural manifestations of the Oxford Movement is most curious.

¹ *British Critic*, Oct. 1839, 503.

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The simplicity of style that impressed Pugin remains, in spite of the additions already noted, the screen put up in memory of Newman in 1918 and the rood the following year, the church's most impressive quality still. 'There could not be', says Mozley, 'a church more devoid of ornament or less fitted to receive it'. Both the builder and the glazier were displeased, according to the same author, with the plainness of the work they had to carry out.

The longer we contemplate this little church, so workmanlike, so pure in style, so austere and so English in character, and so perfectly adapted to its surroundings, the more clearly — whatever the source of the original design — does it reveal Newman's own personality and his ideas on architecture.

It was characteristic that it should have been built in the Gothic style. There is reason to believe that Newman's personal preferences, at any rate, at certain moments in his life, were for the Classical. Didn't he somewhere say that he loved Trinity College Chapel at Oxford more than any other building? In his novel, *Loss and Gain*, for instance, he speaks with emotion of 'the line or forest of round polished columns; and the graceful dome (of the Classical church) circling above one's head like the blue heaven itself'. But when one of the characters in the same book is asked 'And which are you for, Gothic . . . or Rome?' He answers 'for both in their place', and clearly the appropriate style for a village church in stone country on the outskirts of Gothic Oxford was the Gothic. And in any case, whatever personal predilections he may have had at one time or another, that he was intellectually persuaded of the superiority of Gothic architecture, the following passage conclusively shows. 'For myself, certainly I think that the style which, whatever be its origin, is called Gothic is endowed with a profound and a commanding beauty, such as no other style possesses with which we are acquainted and which probably the Church will not see surpassed till it attain to the Celestial City'.¹

But to conform to his ideas the appropriate Gothic must be Gothic of a particular kind. 'The growing attention which is seen on all sides, to church architecture and church decoration' disquieted him (not as if this were not right in itself) for he was apprehensive lest 'what is really a divine gift be incautiously used as an end

¹ *The Idea of a University*, 82.

rather than as a means', or else as an artifice to disguise the religious poverty of the times. 'Our architecture of the present day,' he writes, 'is a type or rather an effect, of our state of mind. . . . And we make up for our lack of meaning in the whole by stress and earnestness in the parts; we lavish decorations on bit by bit, till what was at first unmeaning ends by being self-contradictory'.¹ It would have seemed to him imperative, therefore, that the utmost care be devoted to the proportions of the building itself, so that (considering the simplicity of the purposes it was intended to serve) it should have no need of decoration or ornament. As has already been noted, there is almost none. An elaborately ornamented symbolic architecture he regarded as serving an essential purpose in the Middle Ages, in teaching the people what they are unable to learn from books, but as serving none in his own day, as giving indeed an occasion of danger.

'It is surely quite within the bounds of possibility,' he warned, 'that, as the *renaissance* three centuries ago carried away its own day, in spite of the Church, into excesses in literature and art, so that revival of an almost forgotten architecture, which is at present taking place in our own countries . . . may in some way or other run away with us into this or that error. . . .'²

Newman had to struggle persistently in order to bring into existence this church, so imperatively needed and desired by the people of a village neglected until his day. Littlemore formed part of the Parish of St. Mary's, the University Church, of which he was Vicar from 1828 to 1843. There was opposition from several quarters, among others the Parish Clerk of nearby Iffley, of whom, it was said, 'he buried one half of the Parish of Littlemore, and he did hope to bury the other'. Work on the building, the estimated cost of which was about £660, was begun on July 15th, 1835, and the first stone was laid six days later by Newman's mother; the consecration took place on September 22nd of the following year. Seven years later, almost to the day, knowing that the time of his membership of the Church of England must shortly come to an end, he preached his famous last sermon there on 'The Parting of Friends'.

The third building in Littlemore with associations with Newman is an L-shaped single-storey row of cottages. From the year 1839, when Newman's position in Oxford became increasingly con-

¹ *Essays* i, 335.

² *The Idea of a University*, 82.

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strained, he spent more time at Littlemore, where, in May 1840, he planned to build a *μονή*, a secluded place for work and meditation.

In order to save chimney, grates, etc., he discussed, it is interesting to note, the possibility of installing central heating. The monastery was never built, but Newman had in the meanwhile established himself in the row of disused stables, which he converted into a habitation for himself and a few friends and disciples, and it was to this austere and humble place that, following the publication of Tract XC in 1843, Newman retired and where he was pursued by the intrusive curiosity of the world. The stables are well built, but they have no intrinsic architectural interest; they would appear to have been erected not many years before he himself came to Littlemore. Except for the stone tablet on the outer wall, which records that Newman lived there, there is no memorial of the tense and anguished years of his momentous inward struggle, nor any indication that this place during all that time was the focus of the hopes and fears of a great part of the Christian world. What ever since Newman's day has been known locally as 'the College' is now a row of cottages. The benevolent old lady who resides in what were Newman's quarters made me welcome. 'I know there was some as criticized him,' she said, 'but he was a good man: my father-in-law knew him and he always told us that'. The little study is little changed since the *Essay on Development* was written there, with the cupboards and shelves he had put up still undisturbed. The good lady pointed out a tree he had planted in the yard behind. And that other room — the room in which he took the long-awaited step, where on October 8th, 1845, Father Dominic the Passionist received him 'into the One True Fold of the Redeemer' — served, before the war, as the Church of England parish Reading Room, and is now used for the storage of A.R.P. equipment.

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TO THE READER

THE occurrence this year of the centenary of Cardinal Newman's conversion offers to all who love and revere his memory a unique opportunity of honouring one who has been justly described as the greatest Catholic Englishman since St. Thomas More. The Catholic body in this country owes him a great debt of gratitude, not only because of his incomparable writings, a fine inheritance which they share with their non-Catholic brethren, but also because of the high services he rendered to the Church in its emergence and revival in this land in the last century.

He was their champion, who struggled with unique insight against the growing secularism and infidelity of the day. He was an intellectual genius who widened and deepened Catholic thought, a teacher and guide who with admirable patience and restraint attempted to modify the extreme views of so many of his contemporaries. He was a profound spiritual leader whose influence is still felt and will live imperishably in his written word.

In particular the clergy will remember him as the one who by his *Apologia* vindicated their honour before the world. To most converts he has been a source of inspiration, and many owe to him, under God, the light of the true Faith. Catholic students and scholars still drink deep from the wells of his learning. Writers and preachers have found in him a model. Few there are who have not felt the attraction of the noble and dignified prose whereby he has enriched the language.

Among those who love the great Cardinal, who have in any way benefited by his works, there must be many who would wish to express their gratitude in this centenary year in some practical and permanent form. We venture to suggest that there could be no better or nobler means of doing so than by erecting a church dedicated to his memory at Littlemore as closely as possible to the scene of his conversion. Our project is to erect such a church, and we appeal to all lovers of Newman everywhere to unite and by their joint efforts and contributions to build this church as a lasting monument of their veneration and esteem for the great Cardinal.

TO THE READER

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